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The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607–18

EDMUND S. MORGAN

THE STORY OF JAMESTOWN, the first permanent English settlement in America, has a familiar place in the history of the United States. We all know of the tribulations that kept the colony on the point of expiring: the shortage of supplies, the hostility of the Indians, the quarrels among the leaders, the reckless search for gold, the pathetic search for a passage to the Pacific, and the neglect of the crucial business of growing food to stay alive. Through the scene moves the figure of Captain John Smith, a little larger than life, trading for corn among the Indians and driving the feckless crew to work. His departure in October 1609 results in near disaster. The settlers fritter away their time and energy, squander their provisions, and starve. Sir Thomas Gates, arriving after the settlement's third winter, finds only sixty men out of six hundred still alive and those sixty scarcely able to walk.

In the summer of 1610 Gates and Lord La Warr get things moving again with a new supply of men and provisions, a new absolute form of government, and a new set of laws designed to keep everybody at work. But when Gates and La Warr leave for a time, the settlers fall to their old ways. Sir Thomas Dale, upon his arrival in May 1611, finds them at "their daily and usuall workes, bowling in the streetes."[1] But Dale brings order out of chaos. By enlarging and enforcing the colony's new law code (the famous *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*) he starts the settlers working again and rescues them from starvation by making them plant corn. By 1618 the colony is getting on its feet and ready to carry on without the stern regimen of a Smith or a Dale. There are still evil days ahead, as the Virginia Company sends over men more rapidly than the infant colony can absorb them. But the settlers, having found in tobacco a valuable crop for export, have at last gone to work with a will, and Virginia's future is assured.

The story probably fits the facts insofar as they can be known. But it does

An earlier version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association on December 29, 1968. I wish to express my thanks to those who offered criticisms at that time and also to Helen M. Morgan and to Professors J. H. Hexter, Lawrence Stone, William N. Parker, and William B. Foltz who read the paper subsequently and made valuable suggestions.

[1] Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* (London, 1615; Richmond, 1957), 26.

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not quite explain them. The colony's long period of starvation and failure may well be attributed to the idleness of the first settlers, but idleness is more an accusation than an explanation. Why did men spend their time bowling in the streets when their lives depended on work? Were they lunatics, preferring to play games rather than clear and plow and plant the crops that could have kept them alive?

The mystery only deepens if we look more closely at the efforts of Smith, Gates, La Warr, and Dale to set things right. In 1612 John Smith described his work program of 1608: "the company [being] divided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the businesse required, 4 hours each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise." Twelve years later Smith rewrote this passage and changed the figure of four hours to six hours.[2] But even so, what are we to make of a six-hour day in a colony teetering on the verge of extinction?

The program of Gates and La Warr in the summer of 1610 was no more strenuous. William Strachey described it:

> it is to be understood that such as labor are not yet so taxed but that easily they perform the same and ever by ten of the clock have done their morning's work: at what time they have their allowances [of food] set out ready for them, and until it be three of the clock again they take their own pleasure, and afterward, with the sunset, their day's labor is finished.[3]

The Virginia Company offered much the same account of this period. According to a tract issued late in 1610, "the setled times of working (to effect all themselves, or the Adventurers neede desire) [requires] no more pains than from sixe of clocke in the morning untill ten, and from two of the clocke in the afternoone till foure."[4] The long lunch period described for 1610 was also a feature of the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* as enforced by Dale. The total working hours prescribed in the *Lawes* amounted to roughly five to eight hours a day in summer and three to six hours in winter.[5]

It is difficult, then, to escape the conclusion that there was a great deal of unemployment or underemployment at Jamestown, whether it was the idleness of the undisciplined in the absence of strong government or the idleness of the disciplined in the presence of strong government. How are

[2] John Smith, *Travels and Works,* ed. Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley (Edinburgh, 1910), 1: 149; 2: 466.

[3] L. B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, 1964), 69–70.

[4] *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610), reprinted in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers* (Washington, 1844), 3, no. 1: 20; Smith, *Travels and Works,* 2: 502. Captain Daniel Tucker maintained a similar program in Bermuda in 1616: "according to the Virginia order, hee set every one [that] was with him at Saint Georges, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, set corne, square timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of England. These by their taske—Masters by breake a day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be imployed to the place of their imployment, till nine of the clocke, and then in the after-noone from three till Sunneset." *Ibid.,* 653.

[5] *For the Colony in Virginia Brittannia: Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (London, 1612), 61–62.

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we to account for this fact? By our standards the situation at Jamestown demanded hard and continuous work. Why was the response so feeble?

One answer, given by the leaders of the colony, is that the settlers included too many ne'er-do-wells and too many gentlemen who "never did know what a dayes work was."[6] Hard work had to wait until harder men were sent. Another answer may be that the Jamestown settlers were debilitated by hunger and disease. The victims of scurvy, malaria, typhoid, and diphtheria may have been left without the will or the energy to work. Still another answer, which has echoed through the pages of our history books, attributed the difficulty to the fact that the settlement was conducted on a communal basis: everybody worked for the Virginia Company and everybody was fed (while supplies lasted) by the company, regardless of how much he worked or failed to work. Once land was distributed to individuals and men were allowed to work for themselves, they gained the familiar incentives of private enterprise and bent their shoulders to the wheel.[7] These explanations are surely all valid—they are all supported by the testimony of contemporaries—and they go far toward explaining the lazy pioneers of Jamestown. But they do not reach to a dimension of the problem that contemporaries would have overlooked because they would have taken it for granted. They do not tell us what ideas and attitudes about work, carried from England, would have led the first English settlers to expect so little of themselves in a situation that demanded so much. The Jamestown settlers did not leave us the kind of private papers that would enable us to examine directly their ideas and attitudes, as we can those of the Puritans who settled New England a few years later. But in the absence of direct evidence we may discover among the ideas current in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England some clues to the probable state of mind of the first Virginians, clues to the way they felt about work, whether in the Old World or the New, clues to habits of thinking that may have conditioned their perceptions of what confronted them at Jamestown, clues even to the tangled web of motives that made later Virginians masters of slaves.

ENGLISHMEN'S IDEAS about the New World at the opening of the seventeenth century were based on a century of European exploration and settlement. The Spanish, whose exploits surpassed all others, had not attempted to keep their success a secret, and by the middle of the sixteenth century Englishmen interested in America had begun translating Spanish histories

[6] Smith, *Travels and Works*, 2: 487.

[7] A much more sophisticated version of this explanation is suggested by Professor Sigmund Diamond in his discussion of the development of social relationships in Virginia, "From Organization to Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (1958): 457–75; see also his "Values as an Obstacle to Economic Growth: The American Colonies," *Journal of Economic History*, 27 (1967): 561–75.

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and memoirs in an effort to rouse their countrymen to emulation.[8] The land that emerged from these writings was, except in the Arctic regions, an Eden, teeming with gentle and generous people who, before the Spanish conquest, had lived without labor, or with very little, from the fruits of a bountiful nature.[9] There were admittedly some unfriendly exceptions who made a habit of eating their more attractive neighbors; but they were a minority, confined to a few localities, and in spite of their ferocity were scarcely a match for Europeans armed with guns.[10] Englishmen who visited the New World confirmed the reports of natural abundance. Arthur Barlowe, for example, reconnoitering the North Carolina coast for Walter Raleigh, observed that "the earth bringeth foorth all things in aboundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour," while the people were "most gentle, loving, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age. . . ."[11]

English and European readers may have discounted the more extravagant reports of American abundance, for the same authors who praised the land often gave contradictory accounts of the hardships they had suffered in it. But anyone who doubted that riches were waiting to be plucked from Virginia's trees had reason to expect that a good deal might be plucked from the people of the land. Spanish experience had shown that Europeans could thrive in the New World without undue effort by exploiting the natives. With a mere handful of men the Spanish had conquered an enormous population of Indians in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru and had put them to work. In the chronicles of Peter Martyr Englishmen learned how it was done. Apart from the fact that the Indians were naturally gentle, their division into a multitude of kingdoms, frequently at odds with one another, made it easy to play off one against another. By aiding one group against its enemies the Spaniards had made themselves masters of both.[12]

The story of English plans to imitate and improve on the Spanish strategy is a long one.[13] It begins at least as early as Francis Drake's foray in Panama in 1572–73, when he allied with a band of runaway slaves to rob a Spanish mule train carrying treasure from Peru across the isthmus to Nombre de

[8] See especially the translation of Peter Martyr, in Richard Eden, *The Decades of the new worlde or west India* (London, 1555); a useful bibliographical history is John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire* (Amsterdam, 1966).

[9] Gustav H. Blanke, *Amerika im Englishen Schrifttum Des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* Beitrage Zur Englischen Philologie, 46 (Bochum-Langendreer, 1962), 98–104.

[10] Since Peter Martyr, the principal Spanish chronicler, identified most Indians who resisted the Spaniards as cannibals, this became the familiar sixteenth-century epithet for unfriendly Indians. It is doubtful that many tribes actually practiced cannibalism, though some certainly did.

[11] D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590,* Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., 104, 105 (London, 1955), 1: 108.

[12] Eden, *Decades, passim.* For English awareness of the Spanish example, see Smith, *Travels and Works,* 2: 578–81, 600–03, 955–56, and Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1906–35), 3: 558, 560–62.

[13] I have dealt with this subject in a work still in progress.

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Dios on the Caribbean.[14] The idea of joining with dissident natives or slaves either against their Spanish masters or against their wicked cannibalistic neighbors became an important ingredient in English plans for colonizing the New World. Martin Frobisher's experiences with the Eskimos in Baffin Land and Ralph Lane's with the Indians at Roanoke[15] should perhaps have disabused the English of their expectations; but they found it difficult to believe that any group of natives, and especially the noble savages of North America, would fail to welcome what they called with honest pride (and some myopia) the "gentle government" of the English.[16] If the savages first encountered by a colonizing expedition proved unfriendly, the thing to do was to make contact with their milder neighbors and rescue them from the tyranny of the unfriendly tribe, who must be their enemies and were probably cannibals to boot.[17]

The settlers at Jamestown tried to follow the strategy, locating their settlement as the plan called for, near the mouth of a navigable river, so that they would have access to the interior tribes if the coastal ones were hostile. But as luck would have it, they picked an area with a more powerful, more extensive, and more effective Indian government than existed anywhere else on the Atlantic Coast. King Powhatan had his enemies, the Monacans of the interior, but he felt no great need of English assistance against them, and he rightly suspected that the English constituted a larger threat to his hegemony than the Monacans did. He submitted with ill grace and no evident comprehension to the coronation ceremony that the Virginia Company arranged for him, and he kept his distance from Jamestown. Those of his warriors who visited the settlement showed no disposition to work for the English. The Monacans, on the other hand, lived too far inland (beyond the falls) to serve as substitute allies, and the English were thus deprived of their anticipated native labor.[18]

They did not, however, give up their expectations of getting it eventually. In 1615 Ralph Hamor still thought the Indians would come around "as they are easily taught and may by lenitie and faire usage . . . be brought,

[14] Irene A. Wright, ed., *Documents concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main 1569–1580,* Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., 71 (London, 1932), gives the original sources, both English and Spanish.

[15] Richard Collinson, ed., *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher,* Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., 38 (London, 1867), 131, 141–42, 145–50, 269, 271, 280–89; Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages,* 1: 275–88.

[16] The phrase "gentle government" is the younger Hakluyt's, in a proposal to make use of Drake's Negro allies from Panama for a colony at the Straits of Magellan. E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts,* Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., 76, 77 (London, 1935), 1: 142.

[17] *Ibid.,* 121, 2: 241–42, 246–49, 257–65, 275, 318, 342.

[18] The secondary literature on the Indians of Virginia is voluminous, but see especially Nancy O. Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in J. M. Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 33–60. The most helpful original sources, on which most of our information is necessarily based, are Smith, *Travels and Works,* and William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (composed 1612), ed. L. B. Wright and V. Freund, Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., 103 (London, 1953), 53–116.

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being naturally though ingenious, yet idlely given, to be no lesse industrious, nay to exceede our English."[19] Even after the massacre of 1622 Virginians continued to dream of an Indian labor supply, though there was no longer to be any gentleness in obtaining it. Captain John Martin thought it better to exploit than exterminate the Indians, if only because they could be made to work in the heat of the day, when Englishmen would not. And William Claiborne in 1626 invented a device (whether mechanical or political is not clear) that he claimed would make it possible to keep Indians safely in the settlements and put them to work. The governor and council gave him what looks like the first American patent or copyright, namely a three-year monopoly, to "have holde and enjoy all the benefitt use and profitt of this his project or inventione," and they also assigned him a recently captured Indian, "for his better experience and tryall of his inventione."[20]

English expectations of the New World and its inhabitants died hard. America was supposed to be a land of abundance, peopled by natives who would not only share that abundance with the English but increase it under English direction. Englishmen simply did not envisage a need to work for the mere purpose of staying alive. The problem of survival as they saw it was at best political and at worst military.

ALTHOUGH ENGLISHMEN long remained under the illusion that the Indians would eventually become useful English subjects, it became apparent fairly early that Indian labor was not going to sustain the founders of Jamestown. The company in England was convinced by 1609 that the settlers would have to grow at least part of their own food.[21] Yet the settlers themselves had to be driven to that life-saving task. To understand their ineffectiveness in coping with a situation that their pioneering descendants would take in stride, it may be helpful next to inquire into some of the attitudes toward work that these first English pioneers took for granted. How much work and what kind of work did Englishmen at the opening of the seventeenth century consider normal?

The laboring population of England, by law at least, was required to work much harder than the regimen at Jamestown might lead us to expect. The famous Statute of Artificers of 1563 (re-enacting similar provisions from the Statute of Laborers of 1495) required all laborers to work from five in the morning to seven or eight at night from mid-March to mid-September, and during the remaining months of the year from daybreak to night. Time out for eating, drinking, and rest was not to exceed

[19] *True Discourse*, 2. See also Strachey, *Historie of Travell*, 91–94; Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia* (London, 1613), 40.

[20] Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1906–35), 3: 705–06; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1924), 111.

[21] *Records of the Virginia Company*, 3: 17, 27.

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Hard at work in old England. Woodcut from *Robert, the Devil.* Printed by W. de Worde [1502?] (STC 21070, 21071). Photograph: Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* (London, 1935).

two and a half hours a day.[22] But these were injunctions not descriptions. The Statute of Laborers of 1495 is preceded by the complaint that laborers "waste much part of the day . . . in late coming unto their work, early departing therefrom, long sitting at their breakfast, at their dinner and noon-meat, and long time of sleeping after noon."[23] Whether this statute or that of 1563 (still in effect when Jamestown was founded) corrected the situation is doubtful.[24] The records of local courts show varying efforts to enforce other provisions of the statute of 1563, but they are almost wholly silent about this provision,[25] in spite of the often-expressed despair of masters over their lazy and negligent laborers.[26]

[22] R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, eds., *Tudor Economic Documents* (London, 1924), 1: 342. For some seventeenth-century prescriptions of long working hours, see Gervase Markham, *A Way to get Wealth* (13th ed.; London, 1676), 115–17; Henry Best, *Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641,* Surtees Society, *Publications,* 33 (Durham, 1857), 44. See also L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), 61–65.

[23] 11 Henry 7, cap. 22, sec. 4; Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason* (Manchester, 1933), 117.

[24] Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents,* 1: 352–63.

[25] A minor exception is in J. H. E. Bennett and J. C. Dewhurst, eds., *Quarter Sessions Records . . . for the County Palatine of Chester, 1559–1760,* Publications of the Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 94 (Chester, 1940), 95–96, where a master alleged that his apprentice, John Dodd, "hath negligently behaved him selfe in his service in idleinge and sleepinge in severalle places where he hath been comanded to work." But sleeping (from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon and beyond) was only one of Dodd's offenses. On the enforcement of other provisions in the statute, see Margaret G. Davies, *The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship . . . 1563–1642* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); R. K. Kelsall, *Wage Regulation under the Statute of Artificers* (London, 1938); and R. H. Tawney, "The Assessment of Wages in England by Justices of the Peace," *Vierteljahrshrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* 11 (1913): 307–37, 533–64.

[26] E. S. Furniss, *The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism* (Boston, 1920), 117–

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It may be said that complaints of the laziness and irresponsibility of workmen can be met with in any century. Were such complaints in fact justified in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England? There is some reason to believe that they were, that life during those years was characterized by a large amount of idleness or underemployment.[27] The outstanding economic fact of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century in England was a rapid and more or less steady rise in prices, followed at some distance by a much smaller rise in wages, both in industry and in agriculture. The price of provisions used by a laborer's family rose faster than wages during the whole period from 1500 to 1640.[28] The government made an effort to narrow the gap by requiring the justices in each county to readjust maximum wages at regular intervals. But the wages established by the justices reflected their own nostalgic notions of what a day's work ought to be worth in money, rather than a realistic estimate of what a man could buy with his wages. In those counties, at least, where records survive, the level of wages set by the justices crept upward very slowly before 1630.[29]

Wages were so inadequate that productivity was probably impaired by malnutrition. From a quarter to a half of the population lived below the level recognized at the time to constitute poverty. Few of the poor could count on regular meals at home, and in years when the wheat crop failed, they were close to starvation.[30] It is not surprising that men living under these conditions showed no great energy for work and that much of the population was, by modern standards, idle much of the time. The health manuals of the day recognized that people normally slept after eating, and the laws even prescribed a siesta for laborers in the summer time.[31] If they slept longer and more often than the laws allowed or the physicians recommended, if they loafed on the job and took unauthorized holidays, if they worked slowly and ineffectively when they did work, it may have

34; E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, no. 38 (1967): 56–97.

[27] D. C. Coleman, "Labour in the English Economy of the Sixteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 8 (1956), reprinted in E. M. Carus Wilson, ed., *Essays in Economic History* (London, 1954–62), 2: 291–308.

[28] E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of Building Wages," *Economica*, 2d ser., 22 (1955): 95–206; "Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, compared with Builders' Wage-Rates," *ibid.*, 2d ser., 23 (1956): 296–314; "Wage Rates and Prices: Evidence for Population Pressure in the Sixteenth Century," *ibid.*, 2d ser., 24 (1957): 289–306; H. P. R. Finberg, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 4, *1500–1640*, ed. Joan Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967), 435–57, 531, 583–695.

[29] Tawney, "Assessment of Wages," 555–64; Kelsall, *Wage Regulation*, 67–86. Tawney and Kelsall both argue that the enforcement of maximum wages according to the statute of 1563 demonstrates a shortage of labor; but except in a few isolated instances (there may well have been local temporary shortages) the evidence comes from the period after the middle of the seventeenth century.

[30] Coleman, "Labour in the English Economy," 295; Peter Laslett adduces figures to show that actual starvation was probably rare among English peasants (*The World We Have Lost* [London, 1965], 107–27), but there can be little doubt that they were frequently close to it and chronically undernourished. See Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen* (New York, 1968), 91–98.

[31] Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helthe* (London, 1541), fols. 45–46; Thomas Cogan, *The*

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been due at least in part to undernourishment and to the variety of chronic diseases that undernourishment brings in its train.[32]

Thus low wages may have begot low productivity that in turn justified low wages.[33] The reaction of employers was to blame the trouble on deficiencies, not of diet or wages, but of character. A prosperous yeoman like Robert Loder, who kept close track of his expenses and profits, was always bemoaning the indolence of his servants. Men who had large amounts of land that they could either rent out or work with hired labor generally preferred to rent because labor was so inefficient and irresponsible.[34]

Even the division of labor, which economists have customarily regarded as a means of increased productivity, could be a source of idleness. Plowing, for example, seems to have been a special skill—a plowman was paid at a higher rate than ordinary farm workers. But the ordinary laborer's work might have to be synchronized with the plowman's, and a whole crew of men might be kept idle by a plowman's failure to get his job done at the appropriate time. It is difficult to say whether this type of idleness, resulting from failure to synchronize the performance of related tasks, was rising or declining; but cheap, inefficient, irresponsible labor would be unlikely to generate pressures for the careful planning of time.

The government, while seeking to discourage idleness through laws requiring long hours of work, also passed laws that inadvertently discouraged industry. A policy that might be characterized as the conservation of employment frustrated those who wanted to do more work than others. English economic policy seems to have rested on the assumption that the total amount of work for which society could pay was strictly limited and must be rationed so that everyone could have a little,[35] and those with family responsibilities could have a little more. It was against the law for a man to practice more than one trade or one craft.[36] And although large numbers of farmers took up some handicraft on the side, this was to be discouraged, because "for one man to be both an husbandman and an Artificer is a gatheringe of divers mens livinges into one mans hand."[37] So as not to take

Haven of Health (London, 1589), 231–39; *The Englishmans Doctor, or The School of Salerne* (orig. pub. London, 1608) (New York, 1920), 77.

[32] E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism."

[33] On the prevalence of such a vicious circle in pre-industrial countries, see W. F. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor* (Ithaca, 1951), 106–13, 308. But see also E. J. Berg, "Backward-Sloping Labor Supply Functions in Dual Economies—The Africa Case," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 75 (1961): 468–92. For a comparison of Tudor and Stuart England with modern underdeveloped countries, see F. J. Fisher, "The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Dark Ages in English Economic History," *Economica*, 2d ser., 24 (1957): 2–18.

[34] G. E. Fussell, ed., *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts 1610–1620*, Camden Society, 3d ser., 53 (London, 1936); Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (New York, 1965), 295–97; Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 198.

[35] Compare Bert F. Hoselitz, *Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth* (Glencoe, 1960), 33–34.

[36] 37 Edward 3, c.6. *A Collection in English of the Statutes now in Force* (London, 1594), fols. 22–23; Calendar of Essex Quarter Session Rolls (microfilm in the University of Wisconsin Library), 4: 228; 17: 124.

[37] Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 1: 353.

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work away from his elders, a man could not independently practice most trades until he had become a master through seven years of apprenticeship. Even then, until he was thirty years old or married, he was supposed to serve some other master of the trade. A typical example is the case of John Pikeman of Barking, Essex, a tailor who was presented by the grand jury because he "being a singleman and not above 25 years of age, does take in work of tailoring and works by himself to the hindrance of other poor occupiers, contrary to the law."[38]

These measures doubtless helped to maintain social stability in the face of a rapid population increase, from under three million in 1500 to a probable four and a half million in 1640 (an increase reflected in the gap between wages and prices).[39] But in its efforts to spread employment so that every able-bodied person would have a means of support, the government in effect discouraged energetic labor and nurtured the workingman's low expectations of himself. By requiring masters to engage apprentices for seven-year terms and servants (in agriculture and in most trades) for the whole year rather than the day, it prevented employers from hiring labor only when there was work to be done and prevented the diligent and effective worker from replacing the ineffective. The intention to spread work is apparent in the observation of the Essex justices that labor by the day caused "the great depauperization of other labourers."[40] But labor by the year meant that work could be strung out to occupy an unnecessary amount of time, because whether or not a master had enough work to occupy his servants they had to stay and he had to keep them. The records show many instances of masters attempting to turn away a servant or apprentice before the stipulated term was up, only to have him sent back by the courts with orders that the master "entertain" him for the full period.[41] We even have the extraordinary spectacle of the runaway master, the man who illegally fled from his servants and thus evaded his responsibility to employ and support them.[42]

In pursuit of its policy of full employment in the face of an expanding population, the government often had to create jobs in cases where society offered none. Sometimes men were obliged to take on a poor boy as a servant whether they needed him or not. The parish might lighten the burden by

[38] April 1594. Calendar of Essex Quarter Sessions Rolls, 16: 165. See also the indictment (1589) of four bachelors for taking up the trade of poulterer, which "hindreth other powre men." *Ibid.*, 15: 54. While the statute seems to allow single men and women under thirty to set up in trade unless their services are demanded by a master, the courts, in Essex County at least (where the earliest and most extensive records are preserved), required such persons to find themselves a master. Moreover, the court was already issuing such orders before the statute of 1563. See *ibid.*, 1: 85, 116.

[39] See note 28.

[40] Calendar of Essex Quarter Sessions Rolls, 4: 128.

[41] For examples: William LeHardy, ed., *Hertfordshire County Records*, 5 (Hertford, 1928): 191–92, 451; E. H. Bates, ed., *Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset*, 1, Somerset Record Society, 23 (London, 1907), 11–12, 21; B. C. Redwood, ed., *Quarter Sessions Order Book 1642–1649*, Sussex Record Society, 54 (1954), 34, 44, 46, 128, 145–46, 188, 190.

[42] For examples: *Hertfordshire County Records*, 5: 376; *Quarter Sessions Records for Somerset*, 1: 97, 193, 258, 325.

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paying a fee, but it might also fine a man who refused to take a boy assigned to him.[43] To provide for men and women who could not be foisted off on unwilling employers, the government established houses of correction in every county, where the inmates toiled at turning wool, flax, and hemp into thread or yarn, receiving nothing but their food and lodging for their efforts. By all these means the government probably did succeed in spreading employment. But in the long run its policy, insofar as it was effective, tended to depress wages and to diminish the amount of work expected from any one man.

Above and beyond the idleness and underemployment that we may blame on the lethargy and irresponsibility of underpaid labor, on the failure to synchronize the performance of related tasks, and on the policy of spreading work as thinly as possible, the very nature of the jobs to be done prevented the systematic use of time that characterizes modern industrialized economies. Men could seldom work steadily, because they could work only at the tasks that could be done at the moment; and in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England the tasks to be done often depended on forces beyond human control: on the weather and the seasons, on the winds, on the tides, on the maturing of crops. In the countryside work from dawn to dusk with scarcely an intermission might be normal at harvest time, but there were bound to be times when there was very little to do. When it rained or snowed, most farming operations had to be stopped altogether (and so did some of the stages of cloth manufacture). As late as 1705 John Law, imagining a typical economy established on a newly discovered island, assumed that the persons engaged in agriculture would necessarily be idle, for one reason or another, half the time.[44]

To be sure, side by side with idleness and inefficiency, England exhibited the first signs of a rationalized economy. Professor J. U. Nef has described the many large-scale industrial enterprises that were inaugurated in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[45] And if the development of systematic agricultural production was advancing less rapidly than historians once supposed, the very existence of men like Robert Loder, the very complaints of the idleness and irresponsibility of laborers, the very laws prescribing hours of work all testify to the beginnings of a rationalized economy. But these were beginnings only and not widely felt. The laborer who seemed idle or irresponsible to a Robert Loder probably did not seem so to himself or to his peers. His England was not a machine for producing wool or corn. His England included activities and pleasures

[43] Bates, *Quarter Sessions . . . Somerset*, 114, 300; Redwood, *Order Book* (Sussex), 96, 146, 194; W. L. Sachse, ed., *Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty*, Norfolk Record Society, 15 (Norwich, 1942), 78, 216.

[44] Coleman, "Labour in the English Economy"; E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism"; Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society," *Past and Present*, no. 29 (1964): 50–66.

[45] J. U. Nef, *The Conquest of the Material World* (Chicago, 1964), 121–328.

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and relationships that systematic-minded employers would resent and that modern economists would classify as uneconomic. At the opening of the seventeenth century, England was giving him fewer economic benefits than she had given his grandfathers so that he was often ready to pull up stakes and look for a better life in another county or another country.[46] But a life devoted to more and harder work than he had known at home might not have been his idea of a better life.

PERHAPS WE MAY now view Jamestown with somewhat less surprise at the idle and hungry people occupying the place: idleness and hunger were the rule in much of England much of the time; they were facts of life to be taken for granted. And if we next ask what the settlers thought they had come to America to do, what they thought they were up to in Virginia, we can find several English enterprises comparable to their own that may have served as models and that would not have led them to think of hard, continuous disciplined work as a necessary ingredient in their undertaking.

If they thought of themselves as settling a wilderness, they could look for guidance to what was going on in the northern and western parts of England and in the high parts of the south and east.[47] Here were the regions, mostly wooded, where wastelands still abounded, the goal of many in the large migrant population of England. Those who had settled down were scattered widely over the countryside in isolated hovels and hamlets and lived by pasture farming, that is, they cultivated only small plots of ground and ran a few sheep or cattle on the common land. Since the gardens required little attention and the cattle hardly any, they had most of their time to themselves. Some spent their spare hours on handicrafts. In fact, they supplied the labor for most of England's minor industries, which tended to locate in pasture-farming regions, where agriculture made fewer demands on the inhabitants, than in regions devoted to market crops. But the pasture farmers seem to have offered their labor sporadically and reluctantly.[48] They had the reputation of being both idle and independent. They might travel to the richer arable farming regions to pick up a few shillings in field work at harvest time, but their own harvests were small. They did not even grow the wheat or rye for their own bread and made shift to live in hard times from the nuts and berries and herbs that they gathered in the woods.

[46] On the geographical mobility of the English population, see E. E. Rich, "The Population of Elizabethan England," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 2 (1949–56): 249–65; and Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, eds., *Historical Essays 1600–1750 Presented to David Ogg* (New York, 1963), 157–84.

[47] This paragraph and the one that follows are based on the excellent chapters by Joan Thirsk and by Alan Everitt, in Thirsk, *Agrarian History*.

[48] Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 417–29; Joan Thirsk, "Industries in the Countryside," in F. J. Fisher, ed., *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1961), 70–88. See also E. L. Jones, "Agricultural Origins of Industry," *Past and Present*, no. 40 (1968): 58–71. Lawrence Stone, "An Elizabethan Coalmine," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 3 (1950): 97–106, especially 101–02; Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, xxxv, 111.

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Jamestown was mostly wooded, like the pasture-farming areas of England and Wales; and since Englishmen used the greater part of their own country for pasture farming, that was the obvious way to use the wasteland of the New World. If this was the Virginians' idea of what they were about, we should expect them to be idle much of the time and to get grain for bread by trading rather than planting (in this case not wheat or rye but maize from the Indians); we should even expect them to get a good deal of their food, as they did, by scouring the woods for nuts and berries.

As the colony developed, a pasture-farming population would have been quite in keeping with the company's expectation of profit from a variety of products. The Spaniards' phenomenal success with raising cattle in the West Indies was well known. And the proposed employment of the settlers of Virginia in a variety of industrial pursuits (iron works, silk works, glass works, shipbuilding) was entirely fitting for a pasture-farming community. The small gardens assigned for cultivation by Governor Dale in 1614 will also make sense: three acres would have been far too small a plot of land to occupy a farmer in the arable regions of England, where a single man could handle thirty acres without assistance.[49] But it would be not at all inappropriate as the garden of a pasture farmer. In Virginia three acres would produce more than enough corn to sustain a man for a year and still leave him with time to make a profit for the company or himself at some other job—if he could be persuaded to work.

Apart from the movement of migrant workers into wastelands, the most obvious English analogy to the Jamestown settlement was that of a military expedition. The settlers may have had in mind not only the expeditions that subdued the Irish[50] but also those dispatched to the European continent in England's wars. The Virginia Company itself seems at first to have envisaged the enterprise as partly military, and the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* were mostly martial. But the conception carried unfortunate implications for the company's expectations of profit. Military expeditions were staffed from top to bottom with men unlikely to work. The nucleus of sixteenth-century English armies was the nobility and the gangs of genteel ruffians they kept in their service, in wartime to accompany them into the field (or to go in their stead), in peacetime to follow them about

[49] Hamor, *True Discourse*, 16–17; Peter Bowden, in Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 652. It is impossible to determine whether the settlers had had direct experience in pasture farming, but the likelihood that they were following familiar pasture-farming procedures and may have been expected to do so by the company is indicated by the kind of cattle they brought with them: swine, goats, neat cattle, and relatively few horses. When they proposed to set plows going, they were to be drawn by oxen as was the custom in pasture-farming areas. In arable farming areas it was more common to use horses. The company's concern to establish substantial herds is evident in the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* in the provisions forbidding slaughter without government permission.

[50] See Howard M. Jones, *O Strange New World* (New York, 1964), 167–79; David B. Quinn, "Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion," in *Historical Studies*, ed. T. D. Williams, Papers Read at the Second Conference of Irish Historians (London, 1958); *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, 1966), 106–22. Professor Quinn and Professor Jones have both demonstrated how the subjugation of Ireland served as a model for the colonization of America. Ireland must have been in the minds of many of the settlers at Jamestown.

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as living insignia of their rank.[51] Work was not for the nobility nor for those who wore their livery. According to the keenest student of the aristocracy in this period, "the rich and well-born were idle almost by definition." Moreover they kept "a huge labor force . . . absorbed in slothful and parasitic personal service." Aside from the gentlemen retainers of the nobility and their slothful servants the military expeditions that England sent abroad were filled out by misfits and thieves whom the local constables wished to be rid of. It was, in fact, government policy to keep the able-bodied and upright at home and to send the lame, the halt, the blind, and the criminal abroad.[52]

The combination of gentlemen and ne'er-do-wells of which the leaders at Jamestown complained may well have been the result of the company's using a military model for guidance. The Virginia Company was loaded with noblemen (32 present or future earls, 4 countesses, 3 viscounts, and 19 barons).[53] Is it possible that the large number of Jamestown settlers listed as gentlemen and captains came from among the retainers of these lordly stockholders and that the rest of the settlers included some of the gentlemen's personal servants as well as a group of hapless vagabonds or migratory farm laborers who had been either impressed or lured into the enterprise by tales of the New World's abundance? We are told, at least, that persons designated in the colony's roster as "laborers" were "for most part footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they could perswade to goe with them, that never did know what a dayes work was."[54]

If these men thought they were engaged in a military expedition, military precedent pointed to idleness, hunger, and death, not to the effective organization of labor. Soldiers on campaign were not expected to grow their own food. On the other hand they *were* expected to go hungry often and to die like flies even if they never saw an enemy. The casualty rates on European expeditions resembled those at Jamestown and probably from the same causes: disease and undernourishment.[55]

But the highest conception of the enterprise, often expressed by the leaders, was that of a new commonwealth on the model of England itself.

[51] W. H. Dunham, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers 1461–1483*, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Transactions*, 39 (New Haven, 1955); Gladys S. Thompson, *Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1923); Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 199–270.

[52] Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 331; Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558–1638* (Toronto, 1967); Thompson, *Lords Lieutenants*, 115.

[53] Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 372. About fifty per cent of the other members were gentry. See Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England 1575–1630* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

[54] Smith, *Travels and Works*, 2: 486–87.

[55] The expedition of the Earl of Essex in 1591 to assist Henry IV of France met with only a few skirmishes, but only 800 men out of 3,400 returned. Thompson, *Lords Lieutenants*, 111. Even the naval forces mustered to meet the Armada in 1588 suffered appalling losses from disease. In ten of the largest ships, in spite of heavy replacements, only 2,195 out of the original complement of 3,325 men were on the payroll by September. The total loss was probably equal to the entire original number. Lawrence Stone, "The Armada Campaign of 1588," *History*, 29 (1944): 120–43, especially 137–41.

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Yet this, too, while it touched the heart, was not likely to turn men toward hard, effective, and continuous work.[56] The England that Englishmen were saddled with as a model for new commonwealths abroad was a highly complex society in which the governing consideration in accomplishing a particular piece of work was not how to do it efficiently but who had the right or the duty to do it, by custom, law, or privilege. We know that the labor shortage in the New World quickly diminished considerations of custom, privilege, and specialization in the organization of labor. But the English model the settlers carried with them made them think initially of a society like the one at home, in which each of them would perform his own special task and not encroach on the rights of other men to do other tasks. We may grasp some of the assumptions about labor that went into the most intelligent planning of a new commonwealth by considering Richard Hakluyt's recommendation that settlers include both carpenters and joiners, tallow chandlers and wax chandlers, bowyers and fletchers, men to roughhew pike staffs and other men to finish them.[57]

If Jamestown was not actually troubled by this great an excess of specialization, it was not the Virginia Company's fault. The company wanted to establish at once an economy more complex than England's, an economy that would include not only all the trades that catered to ordinary domestic needs of Englishmen but also industries that were unknown or uncommon in England: a list of artisans the company wanted for the colony in 1611 included such specialists as hemp planters and hemp dressers, gun makers and gunstock makers, spinners of pack thread and upholsterers of feathers.[58] Whatever idleness arose from the specialization of labor in English society was multiplied in the New World by the presence of unneeded skills and the absence or shortage of essential skills. Jamestown had an oversupply of glassmakers and not enough carpenters or blacksmiths, an oversupply of gentlemen and not enough plowmen. These were Englishmen temporarily baffled by missing links in the economic structure of their primitive community. The later jack-of-all-trades American frontiersman was as yet unthought of. As late as 1618 Governor Argall complained that they lacked the men "to set their Ploughs on worke." Although they had the oxen to pull them, "they wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell." And the next year John Rolfe noted that they still needed "Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to use them, and traine up our cattell to draw them; which though we indeavour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobacco."[59]

[56] For typical statements implying that Virginia is a new commonwealth on the English model, see the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall,* 47–48; Robert Johnson, *The New Life of Virginia,* in Force, *Tracts,* 1, no. 7: 17–18.

[57] Taylor, *Writings of the two Richard Hakluyts,* 2: 323, 327–38.

[58] Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston, 1890), 1: 469–70.

[59] Smith, *Travels and Works,* 2: 538, 541.

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TOBACCO, AS WE KNOW, was what they kept on planting. The first shipload of it, sent to England in 1617, brought such high prices that the Virginians stopped bowling in the streets and planted tobacco in them. They did it without benefit of plows, and somehow at the same time they managed to grow corn, probably also without plows. Seventeenth-century Englishmen, it turned out, could adapt themselves to hard and varied work if there was sufficient incentive.

But we may well ask whether the habits and attitudes we have been examining had suddenly expired altogether. Did tobacco really solve the labor problem in Virginia? Did the economy that developed after 1618 represent a totally new set of social and economic attitudes? Did greater opportunities for profit completely erase the old attitudes and furnish the incentives to labor that were needed to make Virginia a success? The study of labor in modern underdeveloped countries should make us pause before we say yes. The mere opportunity to earn high wages has not always proved adequate to recruit labor in underdeveloped countries. Something more in the way of expanded needs or political authority or national consciousness or ethical imperatives has been required.[60] Surely Virginia, in some sense, became a success. But how did it succeed? What kind of success did it have? Without attempting to answer, I should like very diffidently to offer a suggestion, a way of looking ahead at what happened in the years after the settlement of Jamestown.

The founders of Virginia, having discovered in tobacco a substitute for the sugar of the West Indies and the silver of Peru, still felt the lack of a native labor force with which to exploit the new crop. At first they turned to their own overpopulated country for labor, but English indentured servants brought with them the same haphazard habits of work as their masters. Also like their masters, they were apt to be unruly if pressed. And when their terms of servitude expired—if they themselves had not expired in the "seasoning" that carried away most immigrants to Virginia—they could be persuaded to continue working for their betters only at exorbitant rates. Instead they struck out for themselves and joined the ranks of those demanding rather than supplying labor. But there was a way out. The Spanish and Portuguese had already demonstrated what could be done in the New World when a local labor force became inadequate: they brought in the natives of Africa.

For most of the seventeenth century Virginians were unable to compete for the limited supply of slaves hauled across the ocean to man the sugar plantations of the Americas. Sugar was a more profitable way to use slaves than tobacco. Moreover, the heavy mortality of newcomers to Virginia

[60] Moore, *Industrialization and Labor*, 14–47; Melville J. Herskovits, "The Problem of Adapting Societies to New Tasks," in Bert F. Hoselitz, *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (Chicago, 1952), especially 91–92. See also William O. Jones, "Labor and Leisure in Traditional African Societies," Social Science Research Council, *Items*, 23 (1968): 1–6.

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made an investment in Africans bound for a lifetime more risky than the same amount invested in a larger number of Englishmen, bound for a term that was likely to prove longer than a Virginia lifetime.

But Virginians continued to be Englishmen: the more enterprising continued to yearn for a cheaper, more docile, more stable supply of labor, while their servants loafed on the job, ran away, and claimed the traditional long lunch hour. As the century wore on, punctuated in Virginia by depression, discontent, and rebellion, Virginia's position in the market for men gradually improved: the price of sugar fell, making it less competitive with tobacco; the heavy mortality in the colony declined, making the initial outlay of capital on slaves less risky; and American and European traders expanded their infamous activities in Africa. The world supply of slaves, which had fallen off in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, rose sharply in the third quarter and continued to rise.[61]

With these developments the Virginians at last were able to acquire substitute natives for their colony and begin, in their own English way, to Hispanize Virginia. By the middle of the eighteenth century Africans constituted the great majority of the colony's entire labor force.[62] This is not to say that plantation slavery in Virginia or elsewhere can be understood simply as a result of inherited attitudes toward work confronting the economic opportunities of the New World. The forces that determined the character of plantation slavery were complex. But perhaps an institution so archaic and at the same time so modern as the plantation cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the attitudes that helped to starve the first settlers of the colony where the southern plantation began.

[61] On the last point, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, 1969), 119. I hope to deal elsewhere with the other developments that brought slavery to Virginia.

[62] In 1755 the total number of white tithables in the colony was 43,329, of black tithables 59,999. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 150–51. Tithables were white men and black men and women over sixteen. Black women were tithable because they were made to work like men.

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The Unsuccessful Adolescence of Heinrich Himmler

PETER LOEWENBERG

. . . The childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day. . . .
John Milton, Paradise Regained, Bk. 4, ll. 219–20

THE PERSONALITY of Heinrich Himmler (1900–45), the Reichsführer SS, has been an enigma to students of the Third Reich. The German historian Helmut Heiber poses the paradoxes confronting the scholar who would understand the man:

Who was the true Heinrich Himmler? The petty schoolmaster who distributes report cards to his students? Or the writing-desk murderer whose total balance is just short of ten million people? Or the man of honor who controls millions of marks, yet deducts 150 marks for a wristwatch from his salary? Is he the subordinate who can only quakingly stand before his Führer? Or the commander who tries to move his men to hold out until the end with smart orders of the day? The administrator who in rational terms built up an uncannily effective apparatus? Or the believer in occult and magic who accepted counsel and advice from seers? The moralist who is speechless at the sight of smut literature on an SS leader's desk? Or a possessed man whose self-created "mission" drove him beyond the pale of humankind? Perhaps a vegetable gardener who seeks to return to the natural life? The leader of knights who always has his men close to his heart?[1]

Heiber thus invokes apparent inconsistencies and contradictions in personality and behavior to suggest what he terms "the especially many faces" of Himmler, which cannot be integrated.

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1 Helmut Heiber, ed., *Reichsführer! Briefe an und von Himmler* (Stuttgart, 1968), 8.

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Two American historians, Werner T. Angress and Bradley F. Smith, have collaborated in studying Himmler's early years. They have found that there were two distinct Himmlers: an early, "normal" one and a later psychopath. The early Himmler "was to all appearances a normal human being." "It is," they write, "bewildering to discover how genuinely kind, considerate, and at times downright compassionate he was as a youth." This statement suggests that these historians were looking for a psychopath, or at least for a pervert and sadist, a youth who tortured children and animals. "None of the existing passages" from his diary, they say, "convey the impression that the diarist was inherently cruel and inhumane." We may accept their *Problemstellung:* "The real problem posed by the diaries is the image which they give of their author's personality, an image difficult to reconcile with the sinister role played by the same man only a little over a decade later."[2] A modern bureaucratic mass murderer, however, is not necessarily a psychopath. The conclusions of Angress and Smith were based largely on Himmler's adolescent diaries. The diary, a unique and extensive documentary resource that is substantial but incomplete, gives a highly personal view into the life and character formation of Himmler between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four.[3]

Using the adolescent diary as a source, I shall attempt to show that psychoanalytic theory and clinical insight can be utilized to demonstrate an emotional coherence and internal consistency of personality between the adolescent and the adult Himmler. His character could be interpreted as normal in a culture that places a high value on self-control, discipline, order, cleanliness, and punctuality in its childhood socialization. He had a set of behavioral norms that conformed with the demands of his middle-class,

[2] Werner T. Angress and Bradley F. Smith, "Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years," *Journal of Modern History,* 31 (1959): 206–24; the quotations are from 214 and 222.

[3] The background of these manuscripts dates from 1945 when an American soldier was searching for souvenirs in Himmler's villa at Gmünd on Bavaria's Tegernsee. He found six cheap, soft-covered notebooks of varying sizes that contained sections of Himmler's youthful diaries from August 23, 1914, to February 25, 1924. The inclusive dates covered by the diaries are August 23, 1914, to September 26, 1915; January 1 to June 14, 1916; August 1, 1919, to February 2, 1920; November 1, 1921, to December 12, 1921; January 12, 1922, to March 28, 1922; May 26, 1922, to July 6, 1922; and February 11, 1924, to February 25, 1924. The notebooks were secured by an American intelligence officer as his private possession and in 1957 were turned over to the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, where they were authenticated and are now deposited in the vault. I am indebted to Mrs. Agnes F. Peterson, the curator of the Central and Western European Collections, and the staff of the Hoover Institution for making these diaries available to me. The Himmler Diaries will hereafter be cited as HD. I wish to thank Jan Tonnemacher for his technical aid with these manuscripts. I am indebted also to Professor Bradley F. Smith for sharing with me his conclusion that Himmler was taught to keep this diary by his father, who supervised its writing and checked it for the first three days it was written. This confirms the thesis that the diary was obsessive in nature even at its genesis. It was for Himmler an act of compliance with his father. Professor Smith also has investigated the content of Himmler's book list of over 280 titles, which is included in his recent book, *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1926* (Stanford, 1971), 173–79. Smith sees the concept of *Treue* as the central axis of Himmler's personality (pp. 142, 171–72). Psychodynamically, *Treue* is a superego phenomenon denoting loyalty, duty, obedience, "keeping the faith," and being "good." *Meine Ehre heisst Treue!* was, of course, to be the motto of the SS.

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south German environment. He also had the facets of reactive pity, conscientiousness, and precision that are prototypical of character "armor" against underlying aggression.

The tone and content of Himmler's diary differ markedly from the emotional turmoil typical of adolescence. Peter Blos says of adolescent diaries:

> Daydreams, events, and emotions which cannot be shared with real people are confessed with relief to the diary. . . . The diary stands between daydream and object world, between make-believe and reality, and its content and form change with the times; for material that once was kept as an anxiously guarded secret today is openly expressed. . . . The diary . . . serves the . . . psychological purpose [of] . . . filling the emotional void felt when the novel instinctual drives of puberty can no longer be articulated on old objects and cannot yet be articulated on new objects, so that fantasy life assumes a most important and essential function.[4]

Anna Freud describes the diaries and jottings of adolescents in a similar way:

> We are not only amazed at the wide and unfettered sweep of their thought but impressed by the degree of empathy and understanding manifested, by their apparent superiority to more mature thinkers and sometimes even by the wisdom which they display in their handling of the most difficult problems.[5]

In contrast to the typical adolescent diary, Himmler's diary is flat, virtually emotionless, and colorless. His superego structure was primitive; it was personified by his father, later by the pope, and finally by Hitler. Women were seen as dangerous creatures. His mother is mentioned only twice in the diary, as though she hardly existed. The diary acted as a tranquilizer used by Himmler to hang on to reality.

The youthful Himmler was addicted to detail. He made a written accounting of the mundane details of his life—showers, shaves, baths, mealtimes, and the totaling of his expenses at the end of the day. A historian encountering these diaries must regret the lack of substantive intellectual content and emotional response. Himmler relates, for example, that he read the newspaper but does not tell how he felt about the events of the time. And when he writes that he talked politics, sex, and religion he gives no indication of his ideas or feelings on these subjects. Angress and Smith ascribe this absence to the fact that

> Himmler, the collector of trivia, thought it too difficult to render the content of a conversation, but easy enough to immortalize the fact that on June 28, 1922, he picked up his eyeglasses from the optician, or that on November 23, 1921, a distant relative gave him a bar of candy before going home. Moreover, Himmler was not always up-to-date on his diary and would write entries for several days at one time. This may account in part for his recollection of routine duties and minor events rather than of the content of conversations which he either forgot or, at best, remembered only superficially.[6]

[4] Peter Blos, *On Adolescence: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York, 1962), 94–95.
[5] Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*, tr. Cecil Baines (New York, 1946), 175.
[6] Angress and Smith, "Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years," 213.

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To explain the flat, colorless descriptions of the diary as arising from Himmler's difficulty in rendering content and his lack of memory for it is a singular denial by excellent historians of the message communicated by the very form of this diary: the diary itself was an obsessional object whose purpose was to guard against feelings. The proposition that dreary details of life are easier to recall after a few days than either the feeling of experience or the content of conversation seems highly questionable; rather the contrary would appear to be normal. What the diary reveals is that its author was a rigid, repressed character who experienced only weak and limited feelings. The prim detail is in itself a manifestation of Himmler's character structure that demands interpretation.

There is another point of view, more widespread and ahistorical, concerning Himmler and the atrocities of National Socialism. This attitude holds that the men who guided the Third Reich are essentially incomprehensible to normal people. Their minds are considered so bizarre, so far removed from anything we know, as to constitute "a different world from the one we have known for the last six or seven centuries. . . . Its [National Socialism's] initiators no longer had any intellectual, moral or spiritual affinities with ourselves in any basic sense; and despite external resemblances, they were as remote from us as the Australian aborigines."[7] This view abjures all critical judgment and comprehension by denying the possibility of empathy and identification with every other human being who has lived and acted in history. Rather than treating Nazi leadership as a human phenomenon whose study may reward us with a better understanding of ourselves and our Western and Northern European culture, this view regards Himmler as of another universe or at least "another planet." "He did not inhabit the same world [as we do]; he belonged to an entirely different order of things, with a different mentality,"[8] say these seers who wish to consider only the joyful and transcendent aspects of man and who, therefore, mistakenly would try to obviate the powerful aggressive and destructive forces that also reside in him.

But the purveyors of happiness cannot do so, for the powers of aggression will not be denied if we mean to live in this world. Indeed, to deny the forces of aggression and destruction and split them off by saying that they exist elsewhere but not in us and our civilization is the certain way to repress them and to ensure their emergence in all their destructive fury. Nazi Germany, and its holocaust, was a human phenomenon refracting the forces of sublimation, compulsivity, repression, and regression of our time and our culture, and only by seeing it as such can we come to terms with it.[9] We

[7] Louis Pauwells and Jacques Bergier, *The Morning of the Magicians,* tr. Rollo Myers (New York, 1968), 257–58.

[8] *Ibid.,* 286. Willi Frischauer refers to Himmler as a "monster" and a "freak." *Himmler: The Evil Genius of the Third Reich* (Boston, 1953), 11, 19.

[9] The four theoretical papers from which all subsequent conceptualizations postulating the dynamic relationship of sublimation, repression, and compulsivity to regression to pregenital modalities have developed are: Sigmund Freud, "Character and Anal Erotism" (1908), "'Civil-

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must recognize and accept that the Nazi holocaust touches the deepest human emotional wellsprings of all who presume to study it and all whose lives have been affected by it, as does psychoanalysis, and as should history itself.

Himmler's adolescent diary, taken as a whole, shows him to have been a schizoid personality who was systematic, rigid, controlled, and restricted in emotional expression in a pattern that is consistent with what psychoanalysis defines as the obsessive-compulsive character.[10] Freud called the obsessional neurotic "unquestionably the most interesting and repaying subject of analytic research."[11] The psychodynamics of an obsessional character are those of a person whose object relations[12] are intact and whose

ized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness" (1908), and "On the Transformation of the Instincts with Special Reference to Anal Erotism" (1916), all in *Collected Papers*, tr. Joan Riviere (New York, 1959), 2: 45–50, 76–99, 164–71, respectively; and Sandor Ferenczi, "The Ontogenesis of the Interest in Money" (1914), *Sex and Psycho-Analysis* (New York, 1956), 269–79. These studies were followed by the fundamental psychoanalytic critique of modern Western industrial civilization, beginning with Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930), reprinted in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, tr. and ed. James Strachey *et al.* (London, 1953–), 21: 57–145. The finest contemporary works in this genre are Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston, 1955); Norman O. Brown, *Life against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History* (Middletown, Conn., 1959); Brigid Brophy, *Black Ship to Hell* (New York, 1962).

[10] The functional meaning of the schizoid personality and the obsessive-compulsive character will be elaborated in context and operational detail in the course of this article. Briefly, schizoid describes an attempt to withdraw emotionally from the external world and to live in a repressed, internal psychic world of inner objects. An obsessive-compulsive character is one who uses the rituals and routines of daily life to avoid an active, living, experiencing, loving contact with his full inner feelings and with the outer world. Major features of this character are magical thinking, rumination, doubting, and a rigid and destructive conscience. The clinical picture results from a regression to the anal-sadistic phase of development. The character defenses include the mechanisms of isolation (splitting off of ideas from the feelings originally associated with them), reaction formation (replacement of a painful idea or feeling by its opposite), and undoing (symbolically expressing a wish and its reversal); all are designed to bolster and ensure the maintenance of repression.

[11] Sigmund Freud, *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1926), *Standard Edition*, 20: 77–175; the quotation is from 113. The fascination of this complex is its constant formation of new symptoms because the conflicts of ambivalence are never resolved: "A ceaseless struggle is being waged against the repressed, in which the repressing forces steadily lose ground" (p. 113); an obsessional neurosis "spreads over into a general disposition of the ego" (p. 158); and "the ego and the super-ego have a specially large share in the formation of symptoms" (p. 113); "the ego is the scene of action of symptom formation in obsessional neurosis" (p. 119). The obsessive-compulsive character is particularly fertile ground for research because the symptoms are in the conscious ego and related to reality, "and indeed . . . the very process of thinking becomes hypercathected and erotised" (p. 119). The implications of this suggestion for intellectual history have yet to be fully explored.

[12] Object relations refers to the individual's relation to infantile internal images of the parents or parent surrogates, primarily the mother or the mothering figure. Object relations are of special interest and value to the historian because they include relations where libidinal and aggressive gratifications are sublimated, as in friendships and love between parent and child. Thus an evaluation can be made of the individual's capacity to love, which may be stunted or immature because the personality has been distorted or arrested in its development. The consequences of primitive object relations in contrast to the more mature forms of object love have been developed by Ernest Jones in terms that directly apply to Himmler and the SS personality ideal: "An apparently soft and yielding nature is by no means necessarily the mark of a loving nature. It may simply mean that the unconscious sadism has been retained in its primitive state, needing the energy of reaction-formations to keep it there, instead of being transformed into the valuable character traits of firmness and strength with which to meet the difficulties of life or, if necessary, to resist the will of one's adversaries.

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character has regressed to the anal mode.[13] But Himmler's object relations indicate few mature introjects.[14] He identified and his identifications were total. Identification is the original and most infantile form of relation to, and dependence upon, objects. Himmler could be as loving or as aggressive as the person with whom he was identifying. Beneath the identification with his cultural environment, which was expressed by his compulsivity, there was an empty inner core to his personality; he lacked emotional structure. His expressions of feeling were transient identifications and imitations rather than genuine emotions. They had the rubber-stamp quality of one who sees and feels what he is expected to see and feel. His emotional life was barren and impoverished, and his expressions were artificial, lacking real relationship. He was, however, precisely what one should expect of the subordinate of a dictator and the head of a vast police network. If historians look at character structure they will indeed find a consistency in Himmler's adolescent and adult emotional attitudes and behavior. Even as an adolescent he showed the severe withdrawal from the object world that he exhibited at the height of his power.

It should be of interest to the historian that the eminent British clinician and theorist of object-relations Harry Guntrip uses Heinrich Himmler as his prime example in his description of the schizoid personality. He writes that "the cold and inscrutable Himmler showed all the marks of a deeply schizoid personality."[15] While this judgment may be based on the adult Himmler, it invites an examination of his adolescence for schizoid symptomatology.

On the other hand it is equally certain that much of what passes as 'strength' of 'character' is an illusion. Such traits as obstinacy, pugnacity, extreme 'individualism,' cynicism, hardness of heart, insensitiveness to the feelings of other human beings, however useful they may on occasion be to their owner, are often little more than defenses against love of which the person is too afraid—or, more strictly of possible consequences of this love. A matter-of-fact attitude of being 'superior to sentiment' is often a buttressing of the personality, a self-justification in the presence of deep-seated fear. We thus see that the degree of friendliness and affection is to be estimated by the *internal freedom* of such feelings rather than by the quantity of them that may be manifest. It will then be found that this freedom is accompanied by a slowness of response to hostility or even to opposition. The assimilation and control of the unconscious sadism, the same thing that allows love and friendliness to flow easily, begets an inner confidence and security that enable the person to endure opposition calmly and to be so unintimidated by hostility as to render aggressive opposition on his part unnecessary except in extreme and urgent situations." "The Concept of a Normal Mind" (1931), *Papers on Psycho-Analysis* (Boston, 1961), 210.

[13] This refers to the anal stage of psychosexual development, roughly between one and three years of age. It is marked by the emergence of aggression admixed with sadism, the processes of cleanliness training, and a pleasure in anal functions such as sphincter control with its manipulative function of withholding and expelling. Character traits derived from anal erotism and defenses against it are orderliness, obstinacy, and parsimony.

[14] An introject is that part of the parent or parent substitute that the child takes into himself as if it were his own, so that he acts in the same way whether or not the object (parent) is present. The child does not copy the parent as in the case of identification; he treats the parents' demands, directions, and admonitions as if they were his own. The difference is this: the child who does what the parent does is responding to an identification, but the child who acts in accordance with the forbidding, regulating, and rewarding aspects of the parent is responding to a parent introject.

[15] Harry Guntrip, *Schizoid Phenomena, Object Relations, and the Self* (New York, 1968), 47.

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The schizoid person is introverted—cut off from the world of outer reality in an emotional sense, withdrawn, and narcissistic.[16] He is emotionally self-sufficient and feels superior to other people because he does not need them, because they are dispensable. He presents a picture lacking in affect, excluding feeling from relationships with other people. The poverty of external relationships results in loneliness that shows itself in an intense longing for friendship and love in the abstract. A schizoid personality often has feelings of depersonalization, of loss of identity and individuality. He flees inward and backward from the external world in states of regression. He is emotionally inaccessible, apathetic, cut off. The schizoid does not experience suffering, excitement or enthusiasm, anger or affection. He builds up a repressed, robotlike, mechanized personality. He does the "correct and necessary thing" without any feeling entering into the action. As Guntrip puts it, "Duty rather than affection becomes the key word." He goes on to cite as indications of the schizoid's repression of feeling and retreat from emotional relationships such obsessional symptomatology as list-making, the routinizing of a whole life, "doing things in order," hard work, and efficient organization. "He keeps detached from human relations in varying degrees while keeping his frightened sense of utter isolation repressed and unconscious."[17] A marked schizoid factor in the personality, according to Ronald Fairbairn, is the "*repression of affect* and an attitude of detachment which leads others to regard them [schizoid personalities] as remote—and, in more extreme cases, even as inhuman." Himmler grossly displayed what Fairbairn calls "the schizoid tendency to treat other people as less than persons with an inherent value of their own." Sometimes, Fairbairn notes, the schizoid treats other people as if they are lower animals rather than persons.[18]

HIMMLER'S FAMILY BACKGROUND was typically Bavarian petit bourgeois and white-collar in its values, behavioral norms, and expectations. His father, Gebhard Himmler, a pedantic and conscientious school teacher, had been a royal tutor to the Bavarian House of Wittelsbach. After 1913 he was the headmaster of a school, which his sons attended, in Landshut, a provincial town fifty miles northeast of Munich. His wife Anna, the daughter of a moderately well-to-do tradesman, had brought some money into the marriage. Little is known about her. Unlike Gebhard Himmler, she scarcely receives mention in her son's diary. Heinrich, born in 1900, was the second of the three Himmler boys. Gebhard was two years his senior, and Ernst was five years younger.

The Himmler home was secure, conventional, and highly aware of a so-

[16] For a delineation of schizoid characteristics, see *ibid.*, 41–44.

[17] *Ibid.*, 38, 89.

[18] W. Ronald D. Fairbairn, *An Object-Relations Theory of the Personality* (New York, 1952), 15, 12.

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cial status derived from affiliation with the House of Wittelsbach. Ernst Hanfstaengl, who was a student of Gebhard Himmler, describes him as "a terrible snob, favoring the young titled members of his class and bearing down contemptuously on the commoners."[19] Prince Heinrich of Bavaria was asked to be the godfather and namesake of his former tutor's second son.[20] Heinrich Himmler always maintained a high awareness of rank and titles. He meticulously referred to the correct title and social status of anyone mentioned in his diary.

Himmler was obsessed by time schedules. He filled his diary with the precise minutiae of daily routine, the arrival and departure times of trains, as well as the exact amount of time he was late or delayed. An illustrative entry of a trip to Munich on a June day in 1922, when he was twenty-one, reads:

8:00 got up. Ran errands. Newspaper.
9:00 to Lorwitz. . . .
11:45 ate at Lorwitz.
12:20 I was to meet Father at the train station, but I only got there at 12:30. . . . Joined Father in a parlor car in Dachau.
3:00 arrived in Ingolstadt.
4:00 into the center of the city. Mother and Gebhard met us. Drank coffee.[21]

Himmler's exaggerated interest in timetables suggests that as long as they function as regulators of his activities he cannot commit the sins that he unconsciously fears. His life is systematized by timetables, and thus he is protected against dangerous instinctual demands. As long as he knows beforehand what he will do next, Himmler need not fear that, in his excitement, he may sin. For him the timetable becomes a protection against the menace of dangerous spontaneity. The prearranged plan is insurance that nothing will go wrong, that objectionable impulses will remain excluded. Time thus became for him the arena in which conflicts between impulse and control were fought out.[22]

The awareness of the flow of time is unconsciously rooted deep in oral and anal erotism. As Otto Fenichel has pointed out, "Anal experiences are of importance for the measurement of time and for the development of schedules as a means of mastering reality." "How often defecation has to take place, at what intervals it has to be done, how long the process itself should take, how long it may successfully be postponed, and so on, are the situations in which the child acquires the ideas of order and disorder regarding time, and of measurement of time in general."[23] Time has important oral qualities as well, with connotations related to feeding and strictly regulated gratification.

[19] Ernst Hanfstaengl, *Unheard Witness* (Philadelphia, 1957), 23.
[20] For family setting and biographical data, see Heiber, *Reichführer!*, 9; and Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler* (London, 1965), 1–2.
[21] HD, June 3, 1922.
[22] Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (New York, 1945), 284–85.
[23] *Ibid.*, 282.

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The adolescent Himmler wished to be strong. On the eve of his fifteenth birthday he wrote: "I work out with dumbbells every day now to get more strength."[24] But as adolescence developed his perception of strength became an inner one. Strength was to him a function of inner control, of self-discipline over his emotions. This is essentially an anal retentive mode of acquiring strength. Strength is to be ensured by holding in feelings and by the repression of self-expression.

Five years later Himmler vows that he will seize "like iron the bit of self-control in my mouth [*ich will mich eisern an die Kandare nehmen*]." "I can only," he writes, "be a friend to my friends, do my duty, work, struggle with myself and never concede the loss of control over myself." On the next day he assures himself that he "never allows his gloomy thoughts and struggles of the soul to be noticed."[25] This self-control, which he must never lose, the feelings he must not show, are the character "armor" of the dissociation of his affects from his ideas. This controlled and restricted affect shows in Himmler's outwardly lukewarm reactions to inner pleasure or rage. His appearance of restraint masked and defended against his undeveloped emotions and the inner unconscious sadism that he harbored and did not allow direct expression.[26]

The "iron" sexual self-control that the nineteen-year-old Himmler strove for was probably the manifestation of the struggle to control his impulse to masturbation and its associated aggressive and libidinous fantasies. He seems to have remained a virgin for the next seven years.[27] His struggle for control reached a peak of intensity during the end of October and early November 1919. It is upon this period that I shall concentrate.

The contrasting images of masculine and feminine in Himmler's consciousness come to the fore when he witnesses a conflict between a girl and her father over the girl's desire for private dance lessons. He describes the father as "unyielding and stiff-necked like a tyrant." According to his own account Himmler interposed himself and helped the young lady a great deal. "The poor little girl wept tears," he writes. "I truly pitied her. But she had no idea how pretty she was in her tears."[28] Himmler's interpretation of the emotional constellation suggests that he might have viewed this scene previously in his life. Was it a re-enactment of something exciting and familiar? Could it be that he had witnessed such scenes at home and that his father had treated his mother in this way? For here we see that, to him, men and fathers were hard, women and mothers were soft and permitted to cry. When he dealt with a woman he was determined to "show her that I am a man."[29] He views himself as a chivalrous knight fighting for a defenseless

[24] HD, Sept. 27, 1914.
[25] *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, Nov. 7, 8, 1919, respectively.
[26] Wilhelm Reich, *Character Analysis*, tr. Theodore P. Wolfe (3d ed., New York, 1949), 193–200.
[27] Manvell and Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler*, 9.
[28] HD, Oct. 20, 1919.
[29] *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1919.

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girl who is persecuted by an overbearing father. But he has also indicated an identification with those who are dominated and exploited by the fathers. This expression of sympathy and compassion is not at all unusual for Himmler. It is a reaction formation to underlying sadistic impulses that is expressed by the beauty found in watching a girl cry. His sadistic sexual excitement breaks through his defenses at this point. We can witness his arousal. Then we can see the defensive pity become mobilized and the unconscious sadism again repressed, for the time being. "How," a questioner oriented to common-sense explanations may well ask, "can a person who wishes to protect someone else and who feels sorry for her possibly be a sadist?" For a man who is extremely reticent or perhaps unable to record personal feelings, this episode takes on enormous importance. It is the beauty of the face when it was filled with tears to which Himmler responded. Pity is the reversal of sadism. The tyrannical father aroused Himmler's sadism toward the girl. Dancing, of course, connotes sexuality. The sadistic aggression was defended against by a reversal of affect— by pity at the helpless tears of the girl, thus replacing the forbidden emotion by its opposite, compassion.

The one instance recorded in the diary where Himmler appears to show real compassion occurs two years later, when he has contact with a poor old lady who has scarcely enough to eat and who is almost too weak to go out of the house. He is sorry for her. "People are as hard and uncharitable as they can be," he writes. "The princess visits her and does not see her plight. . . . I fetched rolls for her and added a small cake, which I laid down without her noticing it. If only I could do more, but we are poor devils ourselves."[30]

Here his feeling for the deprived woman is an identification with her as a suffering person. Apart from this he had no emotional relationship to her. What he experienced was an identification with the poor old woman who had received no love and little food, whom the princess treated coldly, and who aroused anxiety and pity for himself. He is feeding and empathizing with his own desolated and injured inner objects.

During this period of his life Himmler placed his relations with girls in the context of an aim-inhibited familial relationship. After a long talk about religion with a friend named Maia (Maria) he writes in his diary, "I have now found a sister." But she had a boyfriend of whom Heinrich says, "I believe he doesn't understand her, his golden girl." They all enjoyed musical evenings together. He describes those group relationships as: "Some in love, others [himself] in the friendship of brothers and sisters." Three days later Heinrich "sees" the bad character of his rival and feels sorry for him and for the girl.[31] The relinquishment of genitality because of inhibitions and guilt feelings set up in childhood and the antisexual attitude of his environment resulted in the regression to anal and sadistic fixations that were re-

[30] *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1921.
[31] *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 4, 7, 1919, respectively.

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activated.[32] These fixations bring forth compensatory narcissistic reaction formations in the form of feelings of moral and ethical superiority that we can see in Himmler's description of the girl and her boyfriend. The moral superiority gratified his narcissism and restored his self-esteem, which had been damaged by feelings of affective weakness and inferiority.

Aggression and hostility became erotized in Himmler under the color of the postwar German nationalism that was particularly strong among young war veterans.[33] He felt a joy in 1919 over future battles in which he would again wear the king's uniform. To be effective he must maintain control, he must never let himself go: "I do not want to become weak, I never want to lose rein over myself. I may be in a war or battle in a few years and I am joyful over the War of Liberation and will pull an oar if I can then still move a limb." In this case the need for self-control and strength is rationalized by a nationalist purpose. But the homoerotic appeal of the manly companionship of the trenches was not lost on Himmler. He told his brother and his friend "how nice it would have been if we had stayed in the military and gone to the front together, etc."[34]

The years 1919 to 1922 were a period of acute identity diffusion[35] for Himmler. He experienced this typical crisis of adolescence about three or four years later than is normal. His sexual, ethnic, social, vocational, and religious identities were in flux. We may observe the day-by-day oscillation of the components of his identity as he confronts the internal and outer demands of genital sexuality, relations with girls, his self-definition as a man and the counter definition of females as women, the difficult choice of what to do for life and where to live, the impact of contemporary political and racial agitation, and his struggle with the requirements of Roman Catholicism that were in conflict with his impulses. He had a feeling of inner emptiness and an intense desire to start life anew. Sometimes he regressed to the pleasures of earlier modes of handling tension. He felt hunger fears that he dealt with by consuming great quantities of food. He was frequently a

[32] Reich, *Character Analysis*, 196–97.

[33] Robert G. L. Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952). Himmler joined the 11th Bavarian Infantry Regiment toward the end of 1917 as a conscript. He completed a course for officer cadets in the summer of 1918 and another as a machine gunner in September. He was released from the army on December 18, 1918, without having obtained a commission. Manvell and Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler*, 4; Angress and Smith, "Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years," 208.

[34] HD, Nov. 4, 14, 1919.

[35] Erik H. Erikson defines identity diffusion as "a split of self-images . . . , a loss of centrality, a sense of dispersion and confusion, and a fear of dissolution." "A state of acute identity diffusion usually becomes manifest at a time when the young individual finds himself exposed to a combination of experiences which demand his simultaneous commitment to *physical intimacy* (not by any means always overtly sexual), to decisive *occupational choice*, to *energetic competition*, and to *psycho-social self-definition*." "During lovemaking or in sexual fantasies, a loosening of *sexual identity* threatens: it even becomes unclear whether sexual excitement is experienced by the individual or by his partner, and this in either heterosexual or homosexual encounters." "The Problem of Ego Identity," in *Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers, Psychological Issues*, vol. 1, no. 1, monograph 1 (New York, 1959): 122 n.7, 123, 125.

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castigating, critical self-observer who tolerated no lapses. Always there was a desperate struggle for control of his impulses, of his surroundings, of time and money, of words, and of anger.

The most pressing decision that Himmler faced at this time was his choice of a life's work. He early decided to become a farmer as he liked working with animals. The German *Mittelstand*,[36] to which the Himmlers belonged, however, was highly sensitive to downward social mobility in the years immediately after World War I, and the vocational choice of farm work represented a distinct loss of social status for the son of a middle-class schoolmaster. Himmler's interest in animal husbandry suggests an erotic displacement onto caring for and fondling beasts and an attempt to get closer to the organic life processes. Individuals who have impoverished object relations often displace their object relations onto lower animals. Later, as Reichsführer SS, Himmler would develop an intense preoccupation with the breeding of a new Nazi race.[37] In early September 1919, employed on a farm near Ingolstadt, he contracted typhoid fever. Because of an enlarged heart he chose to take a year out from farm work to study.[38]

Within seven weeks he had plans to emigrate to the East that were fused with the ideology of Germany's historic eastward expansion, his own idealized sexual aspirations, and his compulsive controls through work: "I work because it is my duty, because I find peace in work, and I work for my German ideal of womanhood with whom I one day will live my life as a German and fight my battles in the East, far from my beloved Germany."[39] We note that the nationalism of *Drang nach Osten* is here associated with work and self-discipline, which serve to control anxiety and to fulfill his ideal of Germanic feminine purity. Using the tritest clichés of his culture, he fuses sexuality with aggression in the name of German womanhood. Being married and staying in Germany was impossible. It is as though the beloved homeland were an incestuous sexual object where sexual thoughts and feelings are tabooed. He could not be sexual and be in Germany. To have a sexual relationship with a woman near to home would remind him too much of his mother.

Looking forward to emigration, he began to study Russian.[40] These plans show a substantial lack of reality testing—a Russia torn in a civil war between Reds and Whites was the last place where a bourgeois German farmer would be welcome. This plan of emigration was a fantasy he nourished

[36] See the excellent summation of *Mittelstand* social values and political attitudes in the first and second chapters of Herman Lebovics, *Social Conservatism and the Middle Classes in Germany, 1914–1933* (Princeton, 1969), 3–48.

[37] As Reichsführer SS Himmler personally screened the racial purity and physical type of the women his SS leaders married. One of his pet ideas was a plan for choosing women for racial breeding with SS men, just as one would breed a strain of animals or plants. Felix Kersten, *Memoirs 1940–1945*, tr. Constantine Fitzgibbon and James Oliver (New York, 1957), 78–79.

[38] HD, Sept. 2–16, 24, 1919.

[39] *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1919.

[40] *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, Dec. 6, 1919.

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throughout the years of his identity crisis. In November 1921 he considered emigration to Turkey, Eastern Europe, and Peru. Two months later his goal was Georgia and the Caucausus. In 1924 he again thought of emigration to the Caucausus or Turkey.[41] In actuality, for the first twenty-two years of his life he never left a radius of fifty miles from his birthplace. His first trip was to a fraternity (*Verbindung*) conference in Nuremberg in 1922. For his first twenty-four years he was very much tied to home and family. All his plans for leaving were indications of the need to run away from himself.

Himmler's busy "doing" was like the superstructure of a building with no foundation to rest upon. He lacked the basic capacity to feel with, and then to feel for, the capacity to feel himself as in relationship with another. He had what Guntrip calls "the most characteristic behavioral expression of the schizoid conflict," the "in and out programme, always breaking away from what one is at the same time holding on to,"[42] as illustrated by fantasies of going far away from home.

For Himmler a masculine identity meant fighting, wearing a uniform and being in the military, carrying Germany's mission to the East, dueling, and restraining one's expression of feelings of pain and anger as well as of joy and pleasure. To him a man must be strong and powerful, stoic, and calm, like his father the schoolmaster. Himmler's attitude toward power comes to the fore in his admiration of an "imposing fortress that testifies to the princely and clerical medieval power. One could hardly create something like this with today's workers and wages," he commented.[43] His identification with great princely power, with the strength of medieval institutions, can be seen here. He identifies with power in the hope of winning love and avoiding danger. He searches for what he interprets as masculinity through identification, which was the only way he could be a man.

Social aspiration and status consciousness are revealed when Himmler writes, "It will be a long time until I have the distinguished sureness of manner that I desire."[44] His strong desire for power was to be gratified through self-control. He berated and experimented with himself in order to increase it. He diminished the spontaneity of sensual pleasure to the point of experiencing it only in predetermined and distinct doses, according to plan, and in contexts that had been carefully prepared in time and space, such as the beer-drinking socials of his fraternity or the festive holiday meals. The gratification of impulse was only permitted if it was in a controlled, isolated manner, and when he could identify with its source.

We see here how Himmler's quest for sexual self-control led to displacement onto ideas of war and romantic conquest. The issues of sexuality and aggression became fused in fantasies of Germanic territorial aggrandize-

[41] *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 22, 23, 1921; Jan. 25, 1922; Feb. 12, 14, 1924, respectively.
[42] Guntrip, *Schizoid Phenomena*, 36–37.
[43] HD, Oct. 9, 1919.
[44] *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1921.

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ment. His heterosexual genital strivings met with resistance from the tyranny of the generation of the fathers and became sublimated into sisterly friendship with girls, while his homosexual genitality was sublimated in fantasies he shared with his friends of masculine comradeship in the front-line trenches during war. Strong conflicts between masculine and feminine identifications are manifested by the pseudomasculine acting out and the feminine image of weakness and tears. Men don't cry, women do.

To Himmler "feminine" implied weakness and "masculine" signified aggressive pseudostrength. His mind functioned in polarities of personality: manly muscle, toughness, and forced activity, set against womanly softness, gentleness, timidity, and passivity, regardless of which sex actually displayed these qualities. Sexual differences appeared to him as mutually exclusive opposites and as roles to be played rather than as genuine and basic qualities of personality. These elements of personality are, however, mutually necessary and complementary in human development. In Himmler's pathological form the pseudomale sex role developed into sadism and destructiveness. The forced quality of his values of strenuousness, hardness, and compulsive overactivity indicate that their motivation was reactive and defensive to feelings of passivity, weakness, and nonbeing. They expressed his empty, disassociated sense of not being a whole person.

This affectless image of pseudomasculine strength becomes apparent in Himmler's confrontation with a hypnotist at a social evening. He was terrified by the threat: "I defended myself with all of my powers of resistance; naturally, he did not break me down." But the "dear good" Maia did succumb. He was filled with pity on seeing her so helpless. "I could have strangled the dog in cold blood."[45] The idea of submission to a man was so threatening that Heinrich could under no circumstances participate. Even the sight of a girl willingly surrendering her conscious volition to a man was enough to arouse in him a murderous rage against the man and a compassion for the apparently helpless girl. He had to deny his desire to submit to a man and a dangerous instinctual spontaneity. As long as everything was under conscious control, nothing could go wrong. The control was a protection against his homosexual panic. Himmler identified himself with the girl and fantasied submitting to the man. The fear of powerlessness and loss of control that would allow the underlying homosexual impulse expression caused a reinforcement of his compulsive defenses and a desire to kill the threatening man. His arousal on seeing the girl helpless—"I pitied her as I saw her so"—is again the breakthrough of his underlying hate, aggression, sadism, and his masochistic identification with the passive female. There is the quality of a primal scene to his description of the girl's submission to the hypnotist that suggests that he had a fantasy of a defenseless mother being overwhelmed and subjugated by a powerful father.

The next month of Himmler's diary, from late December 1919 through

[45] *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1919.

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January 1920, is marked by a sudden and close attention to food. He was rapturous about the pleasures of coming back home where he could delight in sweet things and regress to childhood. "I drank hot chocolate at home. It is indeed nice to be back at home, one can be a child again and can let oneself go a little." At home, in the world of the kind mother, he regressed to the oral pleasures of the bounteous breast, the gratification of being given, of being indulged, of taking in the mouth. His intense appetite for food extended to the kinds of diary entries he made after social engagements. Reflections on food, not the ideas or substance of conversations or emotional moods, are what he considered noteworthy. "Drank coffee and ate a wonderful cake," he writes after a visit with a friend. "Ate sandwiches and goodies." Some time later he comments, "As long as I visited I had to eat: dumpling soup, filet, veal, potato salad and noodles, with this a beer. We talked of everything imaginable. He is such a decent, conservative man, fully out of the old mold. . . . Thilde, the good soul, accompanied me to the Harras. She gave me yet more cake, goodies, and an apple to take along. I was up to my old form of talking a great deal about everything."[46]

Himmler's close attention to food might reasonably be explained as the effects of the wartime food shortage, but while such an explanation initially seems plausible, I find it questionable because of the absence in the diaries of any mention of hunger or of a lack of food during or after the war. One would expect such supporting evidence if physical need were the motive. If, however, these entries were not caused by the food shortage, the significant psychological fact is that the pleasure in eating was a pleasure that Himmler permitted himself to write about. Other, more genital erotic pleasures were not allowed; they had to be repressed. But here he granted himself an indulgence in unalloyed delight in food. Only in regard to food does he experience pleasure.

The detailed listing of foods eaten is striking in itself in suggesting another motive, an avaricious immortalizing of food. The food could now never be lost; he could eat it and still enjoy it. It was to be retained forever. In the words of Karl Abraham, "Those traits, which belong to the clinical phenomena of the anal character, are built up on the ruins of an oral erotism."[47] The classic anal characteristics of covetousness and parsimony have their origin in holding fast to food ingested. Himmler feared losing the "goodies" he had eaten and therefore held on to them in his diary.

The frequent self-castigation that Himmler expresses for talking too much is another classic oral characteristic. Its appearance is especially intense at the end of 1921 and January 1922. He associates garrulousness with softness and, implicitly, with weakness and femininity. His masculine ego ideal was

[46] *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1919; Jan. 10, 25, 1920; Nov. 1, 1921, respectively.

[47] Karl Abraham, "The Influence of Oral Erotism on Character Formation" (1924), in *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham*, tr. Douglas Bryan and Alix Strachey (New York, 1953), 398.

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silence and hardness: "I am much too warm-hearted and always talk too much." "I told a lot of jokes, talked much, and jeered much. Oh, why can I not stop it!" "When will I learn not to talk so much?" "I still talk too much unnecessary nonsense." "I am a miserable loudmouth [*elender Schwaetzer*], I can never keep my mouth shut. Ill-considered and immature. When will I take myself in hand?" "I absolutely cannot keep my big yap [*Maul*] shut." "I always talk too much." "The product of these days: I am a phrase-coiner and babbler [*Spruechemacher u. Schwaetzer*] and without energy, got no work done."[48]

The constant need to exhibit himself orally to other people, the overflowing urge to talk, is a trait traceable to displacement from the oral sphere. He is giving not things, but words. The oral discharge by speech is an act of giving by way of the mouth.[49] This is a function of an oral identification with the mother. So we find that Himmler's mother, who appears to be neglected throughout the diary, does indeed effectively appear in his voracious eating and incessant talking.

Anna Freud draws an important distinction between the usual process of repression and an abnormal phenomenon of instinctual asceticism that must be considered psychotic. "There is sometimes in adolescence," she says, "an antagonism towards the instincts which far surpasses in intensity anything in the way of repression which we are accustomed to see under normal conditions or in more or less severe cases of neurosis. In the mode of its manifestation and the width of its range it is less akin to the symptoms of pronounced neurotic disease than to the asceticism of religious fanatics."[50] In Himmler this adolescent asceticism was massive. All sexual and most aggressive impulses were repudiated. He was on the other hand tolerant toward oral gratification, the primary phase of infantile development.

Himmler's view of women was split between an image of a pure, virginal and innocent, maternal being and a dangerous, uncontrolled, sexual, and aggressive creature who ensnares men with her lust. Sometimes he would talk with his friend Ludwig, presumably about women, in a vein that was "downright dirty [*recht dreckig*]."[51] He categorized the romantic woman, who should "keep her place," as being of three types—a child, an indulgent helpmate, and a holy goddess—elaborating as follows:

> A woman is loved by a man on three levels: as a dear child who has to be chided, perhaps even punished on account of its unreasonableness, and who is protected and taken care of because it is delicate and weak and because one loves it. Then as wife and as a loyal, understanding comrade who fights through life with one, who stands faithfully at one's side without hemming in or fettering the man and his

[48] HD, Nov. 4, 13, 18, 24; Dec. 1, 4, 7, 1921; Jan. 28, 1922, respectively.
[49] Abraham, "Influence of Oral Erotism," 401.
[50] Anna Freud, *Ego and Mechanisms of Defence*, 167.
[51] HD, Jan. 22, 1920.

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spirit. And as a goddess whose feet one must kiss, who gives one strength through her feminine wisdom and childlike, pure sanctity that does not weaken in the hardest struggles and in the ideal hours gives one heavenly peace.[52]

Women are seen as primitive images of the delicate, weak mother who is brutally attacked by the father and who must be protected; or the wife-comrade who is a phallic woman, no different from a man; or the goddess who is the all-powerful mother of early infancy, whom Edmund Bergler has termed the "giantess of the nursery."[53] A week after the entry in which he elaborates on the three categories of women he repeats a family saying handed down from his maternal grandmother: "One should buy the cow straight out of the stall," meaning, he says, "not young girls who dance around until they get a man."[54]

Himmler had frequent "rescue fantasies" about girls and women with whom he came into contact. For example, he noticed a waitress, a "pretty, well put together thing with a lovely face. I felt sorry for her. Every waitress inevitably sinks into the depths. If I had had money like a rich man, I would have given her so much that she could marry and would not have to sink and be lost."[55] Such a desire to "rescue" women under the conviction that without his "saving" them they will lose all respectability and sink into depravity has the unconscious meaning of rescuing the mother. This fantasy is derived from a fixation of infantile feelings of tenderness for the mother.[56] Himmler is defending these women against the bad father and against his own sadism. The following day he talked with his friend Ludwig about the frustrations of the engagement period—a "stagnant time. The fighting and wooing are over, yet one only possesses a part of her spirit and her body not at all." Women, he later observed, have two sides; they can give themselves to lust and sexual love; but they can also show an incomparable noble love. "Talking with a pure woman in a nice milieu [*schönen milieu*]" is what he always liked to do.[57] But women were weak-willed and lacked good judgment. They could not be trusted. The ego controls had to be exercised by men, especially in all sexual matters. Women were wanton, sensuous creatures who would seduce men if given the slightest opening.

I have experienced it. One lay in couples so closely together, body to body, not human being next to human being. One catches on fire so that one must pull together all one's rationality. The girls are by then so far gone they no longer know what they do. It is the hot unconscious yearning of the whole individual for the gratification of a terribly strong natural drive. That is why it is also so dangerous for the man, and so full of responsibility. One could do as one wills with the help-

[52] *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1921.
[53] Edmund Bergler, *Counterfeit-Sex: Homosexuality, Impotence, Frigidity* (New York, 1961), 45–50.
[54] HD, Dec. 1, 1921.
[55] *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1921.
[56] Sigmund Freud, "Contributions to the Psychology of Love: A Special Type of Choice of Object made by Men" (1910), *Collected Papers*, 4: 192–202.
[57] HD, Dec. 6, 1921; Jan. 15, 22, 1922.

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less girls and yet one has enough to do to struggle with one's self. I am so sorry for the girls.[58]

Attributing the loss of sexual control to the girls is, of course, a projection of Himmler's own sexual impulses. Projection[59] is one of the most ubiquitous and primitive of character defenses. It is the expulsion of prohibited impulses from the person to the outside world rather than integrating the ideas and affects within the self. Projection leads to intolerance of other people and protection against unpleasant self-knowledge. In addition to the projection, this account from Himmler's diary should communicate many things to the psychoanalytically informed historian. Himmler experienced great sexual anxiety. There is a strong suggestion of a mother's hostility here. The woman is the aggressor and temptress. But Himmler is fully aware that the struggle is within himself. He is saying: "Can I control my impulses?" The total reversal of roles is striking. He, not the girl, is responsible for guarding her virginity. The female, not the male, is viewed as having the uncontrollable sexual impulses.

This image of women as "weak" is coupled with an essentially sadistic view as Himmler describes how a friend of his had "evil experiences" with women that had entirely destroyed the friend's wonderful idealism. He tells of another friend's warning against Sopherl, "a girl with a devastating temperament. She teases a man for a year and a half, she embarrasses and confuses him."[60] In reporting this experience he is not only telling what a friend related to him, he is also revealing his own image of women and his perception of his mother's conduct and her hostility. At a costume party he complains again about how "frightfully hot one gets at these affairs, namely Mariele. She can't help it. But one does have to pity the girls. One cannot be restrained enough."[61] The restraint, the ego controls, had to come from him, the man, because women (of a certain kind) were uninhibited and irresponsible, and, therefore, libidinously dangerous creatures.

One of Himmler's most consistent patterns is the intense compulsivity whereby he manages his rage against his father. The difference in the responses of Heinrich at nineteen and his older brother Gebhard to a provocative letter from his father is significant. Heinrich writes that the letter was outrageous; it could have been put on the wall as a placard.[62] Gebhard became angry, but Heinrich did not. He could not endure any anger or feeling. Instead, he went on errands. His hostility was contained and held in. He did not feel it or discharge it as his brother did. It is this very lack of genuine anger and rage that makes Himmler's personality so flat and colorless.

[58] *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1922.

[59] Projection is the defense mechanism whereby a painful or unacceptable thought or impulse is attributed to a source in the external world rather than the self. This process often then permits it to be scorned, castigated, and destroyed, as in racial and ethnic prejudice.

[60] HD, Feb. 17, 20, 1922, respectively.

[61] *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1922.

[62] *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1919.

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Erikson has redefined the adolescent process as being "conclusively complete only when the individual has subordinated his childhood identifications to a new kind of identification. . . . With dire urgency [these new identifications] . . . force the young individual into choices and decisions which will, with increasing immediacy, lead to a more final self-definition, to irreversible role pattern, and thus to commitments 'for life.'" Erikson sees six functions of ideology for youth. It offers:

> 1.) an overly clear perspective of the future, encompassing all foreseeable time, and thus counteracting individual "time diffusion"; 2.) an opportunity for the exhibition of some uniformity of appearance and action counteracting individual identity consciousness; 3.) inducement to collective role and work experimentation which can counteract a sense of inhibition and personal guilt; 4.) submission to leaders who as "big brothers" escape the ambivalence of the parent-child relation; 5.) introduction into the ethos of the prevailing technology, and thus into sanctioned and regulated competition; and 6.) a seeming correspondence between the internal world of ideals and evils, on the one hand, and, on the other, the outer world with its organized goals and dangers in real space and time: a geographic-historical framework for the young individual's budding identity.[63]

Sometimes one can find all the themes and manifold identities of a personality in crisis synopsized in one episode of life. On four consecutive days in late May 1922 Himmler presents us with associations that state his fantasies of good and evil identity. We see images of purity and ideal Nordic strength set against the evil identity of ethnic outgroups. He defines what his ego fears most—the lascivious, free, and sensual "negative" identity to which he is attracted but that is viewed by him as threatening and dangerous.[64]

On Friday evening he notes having seen a girl of three jump about naked before going to bed. His reaction was "I do not believe this to be right at the age of three years when one should be teaching a child modesty."[65] We may speculate that he was unconsciously aroused by sexual fantasies on seeing the child romp freely and sensually. The child, said Freud, is an erotic plaything. If libidinal spontaneity is dangerous and must be inhibited, then so must an erotic girl child.

On the next day Himmler talks with the young wife of a doctor and tells her that he has never courted a girl. She teases him and calls him a eunuch. Himmler goes on to speculate that there are two sorts of people. One is "the melancholic, stern, among which I include myself," austere types who eventually succumb to sin if they do not get engaged or married early enough, "since the animal in man is too powerful in us." He adds that perhaps the fall, when it occurs among us, is all the greater for this. This hard, ascetic type Himmler contrasted with the light, gay peoples who are fiery and easy-going, who chase women whether they are married or single, and flirt, kiss, and copulate without thinking about it merely because it is human and fun.

[63] Erikson, "Problem of Ego Identity," 110–11, 146.
[64] Erikson, "Ego Development and Historical Change," in *Identity and the Life Cycle*, 30.
[65] HD, May 26, 1922.

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Himmler numbers the doctor and his wife as among this second type, but he likes them nevertheless, and they like him. In fact he likes all of this second type of people, among whom he classifies Rhinelanders and Austrians "who are all easygoing but straight and honest." "However," he writes, "I cannot become like them internally, even when trying to do so strongly tempts me as it does now."[66] Sunday was no exception to the cataloguelike listing of daily routine that characterizes Himmler's diary and perceptions. The entry opens with: "Got up at 7:30. Shaved. Ate breakfast." He also notes that the new teacher chases skirts, despite being married. Himmler's positive ego ideal is personified in a Norwegian engineer and his wife whom he meets later that day. Of them he says: "true Northlanders, still, quiet, large, blond, blue-eyed [*echte Nordlaender, still, ruhig, gross, blond, blauaeugig*]."[67] With them it is a pleasure for him to identify.

Whereas the diary entries for Saturday and Sunday are couched in characterological and racist idioms, on Monday we can clearly observe the underlying psychodynamics at work. We see how Himmler's most extreme compulsivity coincided with his rage at his father. His feelings of anger toward his father were repressed and defended against by obsessional mechanisms of concentrating on trivia so that the feelings of hostility were never recognized or permitted expression. His father was the only person he was aware of loving. His feelings toward his father oscillated between sentimental affection and a need to describe his father's irascibility, which he denied upset him. The account in the diary is always of his father's bad mood and acrimony; never is there any suggestion of his own rage and resentment, for such feelings depended upon his identifications. A typical description of the relationship between father and son as Heinrich experienced it is "Arrived in Munich at 6:45. Changed. Suddenly father came in a great state of excitement and in a terrible mood, accusing me, etc. Ate dinner. My whole good mood was destroyed and smashed: this is the way things may turn out if we are constantly together, a living Hell for us and our parents, and after all, these are trivial things." On the same day he details the items he carried on the train: a gun, egg boxes for mother, rucksack, two kinds of flowers. He tells how long he had to lay over en route and the exact time of his arrival in Munich.[68]

A week later Himmler describes his father as being in a "frightful, depressing mood, deadly." A few weeks later he is angry at his father, but he defends against this anger by excusing him as the "good" father who takes everything so hard. When he has to go to his father, who is holding his money, to get five hundred marks for books, there is a great excited debate. "I too, unfortunately, was hotheaded," he writes. But when he goes to his

[66] *Ibid.*, May 27, 1922.
[67] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1922.
[68] *Ibid.*, May 29, 1922.

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father for money seven months later, his resentment is well defended. He says: "Father is so good, if only I did not have to plague him any longer." There is no hostility expressed. Instead the entry is followed by a listing of the routine chores of the day: "went home, drank tea, figured accounts, wrote diary, studied, 7 o'clock Asta meeting." Then he explains that the present young, undisciplined generation is a great danger for Germany. They live by the slogans of freedom and self-determination.[69]

Himmler's response to the culturally pervasive, middle-class Bavarian anti-Semitism is of historical and characterological interest. On July 3, 1922, his political and social attitudes toward Jews are expressed in two different contexts that indicate that his anti-Semitism was at that time stereotyped rather than pathological. First he notes: "In the evening the democratic students together with the Republican Reichsbund are staging a meeting against the black-white-red terror at the Munich universities. One of the organizers is Wolfg[ang] Hallgarten, the Jew-boy [*Judenbub*], an officer's candidate in 1918, now a pacifist. Home. Studied. 1:00 P.M. Dinner." Himmler did not go to the meeting, but he records that "Hallgarten, the Jewish rascal [*Judenlauser*] is a big operator. He is said to have been insolent under the protection of the Republican Reichsbund." The same evening Himmler and a friend visited some cabarets. There he had an encounter with a dancer that led to his second series of references to Jews that day:

> The dancer Inge Barco came to us. (A couple of days later I received a picture from her; see mementos.) . . . We then went to the Reichsadler bar. Pretentious, many Jews there. She is a quiet girl, simple, not vain or arrogant, values good manners. No one would take her to be a cabaret dancer. She is Viennese, but a Jewess. But she has absolutely nothing Jewish about her, at least as far as one can judge. At first I made a number of comments about the Jews. I thought it inconceivable that she was one. She does, however, have in every way the Austrian woman's manner of talking and giving of herself, harmlessly joking and being good-natured, without ever being offensive. She freely admits that she is no longer innocent. But she has given her body only out of love. She is madly in love [*verschossen*] with Kurt Wetterstein, a student, and is absolutely true to him. She has very poor circumstances at home. She nevertheless sends money home. In a word, a girl who deserves respect, notwithstanding the conceits of bourgeois opinion. We drove her out to the home of her married sister in the Nymphenburger Street, where she lives. 1:00 A.M. home. Bed.[70]

These two passages quoted from the same day's entry demonstrate that at the age of twenty-two Himmler possessed all the conventional anti-Semitism of his class and culture, but nothing more. He was able to idealize the Jewish dancer and to write of her with some stereotyped romantic clichés, demonstrating that his anti-Semitism was at this point the product of identification with his social environment. He took it from his surroundings,

[69] *Ibid.*, June 6, 26, 1922; Nov. 13, 1921; June 30, 1922, respectively.
[70] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1922.

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family, college fraternity associates, and the parochial middle-class world of south Germany.

The virulent and pathological anti-Semitism of Nazism that Himmler was shortly to adopt was also a product of identification. It was borrowed from his new father figure, his new pope—Adolf Hitler. Himmler's anti-Semitism had all the schizoid flexibility of an ideology by identification. He absorbed it as though apart from it he would have no reality; he swallowed it with his acceptance of the authority who dispensed it. He had no true individuality of his own, and he could not exist as a person apart from his objects of identification. His destiny became bound up with Hitler's in an identification that was his only means of maintaining selfhood.

A study of Himmler invites a consideration of the great scholarship on the variables of personality that tend to anti-Semitism. The prevailing psychodynamic view of the racially prejudiced person is that he has a weak ego.[71] We may single out the classic study by the Adorno group, *The Authoritarian Personality,* which concludes that:

> Comparison with high scorers [in authoritarianism and anti-Semitism] . . . gave the impression that the low scorers had relatively much stronger egos—that is, they appeared to us to be able to handle their impulses much more successfully due to relatively less extensive repressions and countercathexes and to greater capacity for sublimation and other modifications.[72]

The bigot reputedly uses the nonadaptive defenses of displacement and projection and therefore does not meet reality on a rational basis. Adorno's appraisal is comforting but deceptively unrealistic for Himmler's case.

For Himmler, and for others like him, anti-Semitism was ego syntonic and integrative because they found in the Nazi ideology a solution to their problems of aggression and identity. In the *Völkisch* movement Himmler found a sense of belonging and an integration of his various identifications —sexual, occupational, ethnic, and national. He found his identity through National Socialist racial ideology and secured it when he achieved a position as a functionary in the Nazi party. Nazi ideology was permanently necessary to stabilize his ego and his identity; it channelled his asceticism and his need for an absolute hierarchy of values and rigid principles of conduct. It promised him control of the future and eternalization of ancestry; martial discipline creating a band of armed supermen; total inner reform and the sanction to wage a holy race war, without compromise or mercy, against an external enemy.

Himmler experienced an accelerating conflict with his Roman Catholic

[71] Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York, 1950); Ernst Simmel, M.D., ed., *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease* (New York, 1946); Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice* (New York, 1950), reissued in *Social Change and Prejudice* (Glencoe, 1964); T. W. Adorno *et al., The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, 1950).

[72] Adorno, *Authoritarian Personality,* 969.

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faith because the Church was opposed to dueling. In December 1919 he wrote: "I believe that I am coming into collision with my religion. Whatever happens, I will always love God, pray to him, and cleave to and defend the Catholic Church, even if I am expelled from her." As he listened to a Christmas Day sermon, he said he had to fight his "inner battles of faith as never before. The business of dueling bothers me again and again. I prayed in the evening; I had more or less overcome it earlier. God will help me in all my doubts."[73]

Dueling remained a major preoccupation for Himmler between the ages of nineteen and twenty-two. He wanted to duel but had difficulty in finding partners. He was repeatedly rejected by his fraternity brothers for club office. He was told that the management of the fencing matches would not be in good hands and that his father's opposition would inhibit his dueling. He displayed no guilt feelings toward his father, however, as an obsessive would have. He felt that his rejection by the fraternity was because he talked too much and because his fraternity brothers were talking against him.[74]

Himmler's feelings of masculine identification were associated with dueling and war. One evening after he and a friend had walked two girls home he wrote: "One notices how one thirsts for love and yet how hard and responsible it is to bind oneself and to choose. Then one has the thought, if only there were battle again; War; the march to the front. I look forward to my fencing match."[75] This entry reveals the tensions creating his dull, restricted personality. True to the isolation of affect by a compulsive, Himmler uses the indefinite pronoun "One," the third person form, rather than "I." Love has an oral quality; it is something that is imbibed regardless of its source. Where it comes from is a matter of indifference. He does not want to choose a single object and be responsible to her. If only Germany were at war once more he could unambivalently (so it appears to him) be a man again by going to battle at the front—and in doing so identify with the aggressor. For now, he has his dueling.

He eventually got his dueling match. "I did not get at all excited. I stood very well and technically fought very nicely. My opponent was Mr. Renner of the Alemanians. . . . As it later turned out I received five bloody blows . . . five stitches, one ligature. I truly did not flinch, even once. Distl held my head in old comradeship."[76] Here we see Himmler defining his values of masculinity with unmistakable clarity. To be a man is to bear pain without flinching and then to be comforted by another man in the brotherhood of combat.

Himmler's world has been drastically polarized by his unconscious into categories of "good" and "bad" conduct and feeling, and his system of

[73] HD, Dec. 15, 26, 1919.
[74] *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 26, 1922; Nov. 11, 1921; Feb. 22, 1922.
[75] *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1922.
[76] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1922.

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thought carries unconscious emotional significance. The category of "strength," aggression and violence, and the repression of feelings associated with "hardness" is Himmler's identification with his father. The realm of feelings of spontaneity, sexuality, warmth, and tenderness is associated with weakness and is his identification with his mother. In the patriarchal Himmler household the child Heinrich's view of the behavior and emotional position of his father was that his acts and values were strong, hard, and self-disciplined, while his image of his mother was that she was soft and weak.

Himmler's projection onto Jews, Bolsheviks, homosexuals, and ethnic outgroups of the categories of sexuality, low voluptuousness, and inadmissible feelings of murderous rage that he identified with his mother was a defense against the feared inner danger of yielding to irresistible impulses. This defense is demonstrated in the bull sessions he shared with friends in their rooms. These sessions concerned, as he recorded the topics seriatim, "Land reform, degeneration, homosexuality, the Jewish question."[77] One friend loaned him Hans Blüher's book praising the role of homosexuality in social organization.[78] Himmler recorded in his diary only the loan of the book and not his response to it. But in the book list that Himmler kept he commented on Blüher's thesis, noting that "pure physical homosexuality is an error of degenerate individualism that is contrary to nature."[79] Himmler's attitude of opprobrium and moralistic condemnation suggests that homosexuality was a very anxiety-inducing subject, one that he vigorously had to defend against.

The single most frequent entry in Himmler's diaries during his years in school was in all probability "*Akten studiert,*" referring to his favorite pasttime of working in the files of the student government (ASTA or Allgemeiner Studenten Ausschuss). Here he could be happy in the obsessional world of rules and regulations. Here pleasure was to be had in indexing and registering, filing and checking, scheduling and planning, and in all the compulsive systems of office routine. Himmler was to be a bureaucrat par excellence until the end of his life.

Throughout his life Himmler was plagued by stomach aches, cramps, and colitis. He frequently complained of stomach upsets in adolescence,[80] a physical complaint that is highly significant in terms of underlying emotional conflict. Chronic gastrointestinal disturbances have been among the most carefully studied of all psychosomatic symptoms, as the gastrointestinal tract is the classic target area for anxiety. Recent research in psychosomatic medicine has stressed the multiple determinants, somatic and psychological, of organ breakdown. Some organic factor, either genetic or from the life

[77] *Ibid.,* Mar. 4, 1922.
[78] Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (Jena, 1917).
[79] Smith, *Heinrich Himmler,* 115.
[80] HD, Feb. 16, July 31, 1915; Feb. 4, 18, 1922; Feb. 20, 24, 1924; Manvell and Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler,* 59; Frischauer, *Himmler,* 82, 84, 121.

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history, is considered necessary for a specific psychosomatic disease to develop. The predetermined target organ is then vulnerable when the person is in conflict or psychological stress, particularly stress of a kind that is related intimately to the organ by development, object-relating, or characterological mode of expression, as is the gastrointestinal tract. The studies of George Engel show that "there are patients who at one time or another display headaches, bowel trouble, an obsessive-compulsive character structure, paranoid trends, and depression." Engel found that this cluster or group of patients includes those with ulcerative, mucous, and spastic colitis.[81]

One indication that Himmler's stomach complaint was psychogenic in nature and that its etiology was oral dependent is that he sought and found relief from his pain at the hands of a masseur. According to Felix Kersten, Himmler's Finnish masseur from 1939 to 1945, only his hands could relieve the Reichsführer's intestinal pains.[82] Himmler described Kersten as his "Buddha" and his touch as a unique magic that soothed his pain and cured everything.[83] The way in which Kersten was also able to manipulate Himmler on issues of policy indicates a strong transference relationship. Kersten was a parent figure, and the massage resulted in a transference cure of the psychosomatic stomach complaints. The "laying on of the hands" by a male "doctor" and the surrender to passive manual manipulation bear connotations of homoerotic and masturbatory indulgence. Here Himmler found the receptive gratification of his unconscious infantile longings for love and help. In this situation he could be "handled," succored, and cared for as the seductive mother touches, feeds, and cleans the ill or "very good" boy. As a patient being ministered to by his "Buddha," Himmler no longer had to act the role of the aggressive, dynamic, efficient, stoic Nazi chieftain.

Himmler received his diploma in agriculture from the Munich Technische Hochschule in August 1922. He joined the National Socialist German Workers' party a year later, in August 1923. In November of 1923 he and his brother Gebhard participated in Hitler's Munich putsch as members of Captain Ernst Röhm's paramilitary Reichskriegsflagge. This unit occupied the war ministry building in Munich.[84] One surviving photograph shows Himmler as a standard bearer holding the German imperial war flag behind a barbed-wire street barricade.[85] After the failure of the putsch, Himmler, having lost his job as a laboratory assistant in a fertilizer plant,[86] visited

[81] George L. Engel, "Studies of Ulcerative Colitis," pt. 4: "The Significance of Headaches," *Psychosomatic Medicine,* 18 (1956): 342. Parts 1, 2, and 3 of this study by the same author are in *ibid.,* 16 (1954); and *American Journal of Medicine,* 16 (1954), and 19 (1955). For earlier views on psychosomatic specificity with special reference to the gastrointestinal tract, see Franz Alexander, *Psychosomatic Medicine: Its Principles and Applications* (New York, 1950), 85–131.

[82] H. R. Trevor-Roper, introd. to Kersten, *Memoirs,* 10.

[83] Count Galeazzo Ciano, *Diaries: 1939–1943,* ed. Hugh Gibson (Garden City, 1946), entry for Oct. 7, 1942, p. 527; Kersten, *Memoirs,* 158.

[84] Angress and Smith, "Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years," 211.

[85] Manvell and Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler,* facing 110.

[86] *Ibid.,* 12.

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Captain Röhm in prison who, he recorded, "still has his good humor and is ever the good Captain Röhm."[87]

There are few outbursts of direct brutality in the diaries. Himmler admired the "imposing power" represented by the medieval castles of Bavaria. He writes that he is fascinated by fortresses and torture chambers, and then states that he admires the spirit of honor, greatness, and strictness of the Middle Ages "for which we will always have respect."[88] In June 1922, when the Republican foreign minister was assassinated, and the vast majority of Germans condemned the act, Himmler wrote: "Rathenau is murdered. I am glad." Two days later he responded to the national reaction: "The majority condemns the murder. Rathenau is a martyr. Oh blinded people!"[89]

In the final entry in the diary—February 25, 1924—Himmler tells of his speech on behalf of the *Völkisch* movement in the Bavarian countryside. "I spoke one and a half hours, I think quite well, to the farm folk. . . . At the end a buyer for a Jewish hopdealer came; I think the farmers squeezed him between their fingers later [*den nahmen die Bauern glaube ich hernach zwischen die Finger*]."[90] We can sense Himmler's pleasure at the sadistic fantasy of the philo-Semite man being pinched and crushed by the crowd whipped up by his speech.

At the end of Himmler's adolescence Hitler became a father figure to him. The new religion of National Socialism became his way out of the inner prohibitions presented by father and Church. These he could now give up for a new set of ideals that allowed him to express aggression. His archaic superego was still, however, dependent on identification with his environment. He needed to please Hitler.

Himmler's adolescence manifested all of the ego and superego defects, the lack of object relationships, the defense mechanisms of denial and projection, and the regression to orality of a severely disturbed borderline character. National Socialist ideology offered him a substitute for his Christian superego or conscience. It was to give him a role in life and a future career with a uniform that counteracted his feeling of individuation and aloneness. It gave him a leader to whom he could submit and from whom he received superego sanction to act out his libidinal and aggressive fantasies.[91] As Joseph Sandler has noted, if enough narcissistic support is available from identification with a leader, then the superego may be completely disre-

[87] HD, Feb. 15, 1924.
[88] *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1919; June 21, 1922.
[89] *Ibid.*, June 24, 26, 1922.
[90] *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1924.
[91] Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921), *Standard Edition*, 18: 116, 129.

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garded. Its functions will be assumed by the leader and membership in a group that shares the leader's ideals.[92]

As the Reichsführer SS, Himmler was able totally to block his own feelings regarding the work of extermination. He praised and, indeed, made a virtue of the repression of feelings of revulsion among SS men. Before dispatching special sections of SS men to Poland for the extermination of Jews he told them: "I have to expect of you superhuman acts of inhumanity. But it is the Führer's will."[93] Of course this complete denial of affect included himself. When speaking of the work of liquidating Jews he said: "The Führer has charged me with carrying out this very difficult task. No one can relieve me of the responsibility. I cannot allow myself the luxury of discussing it."[94] While repressing any feelings, Himmler insisted on the Führer's sanction for all that he did. He was telling his SS audience that because the leader takes upon himself all the responsibility for aggression, you who carry out the commands may do so with no guilt. A little boy has no responsibility.

Himmler used another device to diminish guilt. He always sought a legal facade for his acts. With the high formalism of the compulsive superego and its attribution of magical power to words, he stubbornly pursued the legal legitimation of his activities, although changes in the law that he achieved on July 1, 1941, depriving Jews of any protection of the law were irrelevant as Jews had already been deprived of all enforceable rights of life and property.[95] When speaking of the systematic murder of the Polish upper classes Himmler said:

> However hideous it may be, it has been necessary for us to do it, and it will be necessary in many other cases. If we lose our nerve now, we shall pass weak nerves on to our sons and our grandsons. . . . We who live in these times, who have been taught by Adolf Hitler, who have the good fortune to live in Adolf Hitler's Reich and to work for Germany under the guidance of Adolf Hitler, have no right to be weak. Inevitably an execution is a grim duty for our men. Nevertheless they must never be soft; they must grit their teeth and do their duty.[96]

We see explicitly how Himmler, speaking for the SS state, rates virtue by the degree of repression involved. Hardness is equated with strength, and softness means weakness. Morality is associated with obedience to duty. Acts of violence and aggression are seen as hard, while feelings of warmth and benevolence are viewed as soft. These values were publically normative in

[92] Joseph Sandler, "On the Concept of Superego," in *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child,* 15 (1960): 156–57.

[93] *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg 14 November 1945–1 October 1946* (hereafter *IMT*) (Nuremberg, 1948), vol. 42, affidavit SS–67, Dr. Konrad Morgen, p. 564.

[94] Nuremberg document NO626, Himmler to SS Gruppenführer Gottlob Berger, July 28, 1942, reprinted in Helmut Krausnick, "The Persecution of the Jews," in *Anatomy of the SS State,* tr. Richard Barry, Marian Jackson, Dorothy Long (New York, 1968), 69.

[95] Krausnick, "The Persecution of the Jews," 82.

[96] Reprinted in Hans Buchheim, "Command and Compliance," in *Anatomy of the SS State,* 338.

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the Third Reich.[97] In a speech to SS Gruppenführen in Posen on October 4, 1943, Himmler said:

> I would like here to mention a very different chapter in all candidness. Among ourselves it shall be discussed in complete frankness, and yet we shall never speak of it in public. Just as little as we hesitated to do our duty and to put comrades who had failed to the wall and shoot them on June 30, 1934, so little did we speak of it then and will we speak of it in the future. It was, thank God, an inborn natural sense of tact that we never discussed it among ourselves, never spoke about it. It caused all of us to shudder, and yet everyone knew that he would do it again next time if it was ordered and was necessary.
>
> I am referring to the evacuation of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish people. It is among those things that are easy to speak of. "The Jewish people will be exterminated," says every member of the party, "that's clear, it's in the program, we'll do it." . . . Of all those who so speak, none has witnessed, not one has had to bear it. Most of you know what it means when 100 corpses are piled up, when 500 or 1,000 are piled there. To have gone through this and—with exceptions due to human weakness—to have remained decent, this is what has made us hard.[98]

The association of "human" (*menschlicher*) with "weaknesses" (*schwächen*) on the one hand, and "superhuman" with sadism, cruelty, and the denial of affect on the other, shows how in Himmler's mind the very process of thinking had become aggressivized and libidinized. He repeatedly uses the guilt-alleviating device of verbal indirection: We shall do it, but we shall never speak of it, even among ourselves. This maneuver can only be explained by the great significance attached to words by the compulsive character.[99] Something that is not mentioned does not exist or did not happen. If it is referred to by a euphemism, it may be treated as something different from what it actually is.

This coldness of feeling, this repression of emotions—including the betrayals involved in the Blood Purge of June 1934, which for Himmler passed under the euphemism of "tact"—is entirely consistent with the adolescent whom we have studied. For the youth as well as the adult Himmler the qualities of hardness and strength are ascribed not to the acts performed but to the ability to control emotions successfully. This is his definition of a man. Feelings, pleasure, and emotions are ascribed to human weakness and left to women.

Nazi propaganda stressed the themes of racial purity and described Jews as vermin and viruses.[100] Himmler in 1943 also spoke in the idioms of dis-

[97] Paul Kecskemeti and Nathan Leites, "Some Psychological Hypotheses on Nazi Germany," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1947): 141–83; vol. 27, no. 1 (1948): 91–117, 241–70; vol. 27, no. 2 (1948): 141–64.

[98] *IMT*, vol. 28, 1919-PS, p. 145. This speech of October 4, 1943, to an SS group leaders' meeting in Posen, is one of the most candid and revealing of Himmler's innermost feelings toward his task of Reichsführer SS.

[99] Fenichel, *Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*, 296.

[100] Paul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961), 657–58.

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ease and hygiene: "We don't want in the end, just because we have exterminated a germ, to be infected by that germ and die from it. I will not stand by while a slight infection forms. Whenever such an infected spot appears, we will burn it out."[101]

This language of political hygiene, of cleaning and disinfection, is language indicating a regression to the phase of anal sadism, a time when the infant is closest to its mother and soiling is permitted without restraint. As Richard L. Rubenstein has pointed out, the Nazi death camps were the scene of the acting out of the most primitive fantasies of excremental aggression.[102] Here human beings were manipulated and controlled as feces and finally literally turned into feces amid the stench of corpses.

On the other side of the relationship, the side of the inmates, the psychoanalyst Bruno Bettelheim has conceptualized the concentration camp experience as a process of forced regression "to the level they [the prisoners] were at before toilet training was achieved."[103] This regression included forcing prisoners to wet and soil themselves, the public regulation of elimination, and a whole regimen of pointless and demeaning tasks that robbed them of adult identities and mature responses, compelling a reversion to childlike behavior.

When the Nazi state was falling apart in the final days of World War II, Himmler's personality decompensated as in a psychosis. His ability to test reality completely failed; reality became too painful. In the spring of 1945 he actually thought he would be conducting negotiations with General Eisenhower.[104] This was the megalomania of a man who could not face the reality that his career was finished. As late as May 5, 1945, Himmler planned to establish an SS government in Schleswig-Holstein and to conduct peace negotiations with the Allies.[105] As long as his ideology held up it served Himmler as a defense against identity diffusion. It also answered his doubts about who he was and what his life meant. For Himmler anti-Semitism may have been personally integrative and adaptive because it solved his own problems of aggression and identity. For Germany as a nation it was a cultural regression that led to disaster.

The striking thing about Himmler's adolescence, and in this consists its abnormality, is that it was so flat, depressed, and emotionally colorless. The development of adolescence, virtually by definition, is a stormy, emotionally exaggerated period charged with contradictions, desperation, and wild fantasy. The youth who is seeking to become an individual adult goes through struggle and turmoil that recapitulate all the tensions, frustrations,

[101] *IMT*, vol. 29, 1919-PS, p. 146.

[102] Richard L. Rubenstein, "Religion and the Origins of the Death Camps: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation," in his *After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism* (Indianapolis, 1966), 1–44.

[103] Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart: Autonomy in a Mass Age* (Glencoe, 1960), 132.

[104] Manvell and Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler*, 230–31, 234, and App. A: "Adolf Eichmann's Account of Himmler," 249–51.

[105] Manvell and Fraenkel, *Heinrich Himmler*, 242–43.

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and gratifications of earlier years. Adolescence contains an infantile admixture that often causes it to appear bizarre and aberrant. The youth in crisis shifts rapidly from melancholic depths of isolation, loneliness, and depression to the exhilarated heaven of megalomaniac fantasies.[106]

Instead of the emotional storms of normal adolescence we find in Himmler's adolescent years a coldness, a pure expression of learned emotions, and massive ascetic defenses against all sexual impulses. We do not learn how he subjectively experienced life; nothing "inner" comes to the surface. His experience is in the form of the most conventional clichés. Life consists in stereotyped feelings appropriate to the restricted south German background and norms of expression of Himmler's middle-class origin where "one has to" feel and do this or that in a prescribed way. He is the so-called good, good boy who always did his duty as he was told, who ate everything on his plate, and who never revolted or said no.

The lack of Himmler's emotional engagement is borne out in the coldness of his cruelty as Reichsführer SS. He did not act out of rage or intense hatred. He never personally committed an atrocity; he always ordered others to do it. He had no life of his own; he was the administrator who hid behind the commands of others. In short, Himmler never was an adolescent in the emotional connotation of the word. He did not achieve individuation or any responses other than those he was taught. He never fused love and aggression. There was only aggression.

The reader may ask how the adolescent Himmler is materially different from millions of other boys of his time and culture. Could one have predicted from his adolescence that this youth would grow up to be the greatest mass murder of all time? Clearly such prediction is beyond the scope of either history or psychoanalysis. The variables are too numerous; as Freud said, psychic life is "overdetermined."[107] History, too, seeks multiple explanations for a single phenomenon and is not engaged in the tasks of replication or in meeting the scientific test of predictability.[108] What can be affirmed, however, by concentration on the precise details of Himmler's youth and on inferences from the whole range of his life, is that adolescent patterns can be identified that would lead the adult to be a police bureaucrat who treats human beings as feces. While this consistency does not provide a definitive image of the past, it goes further toward establishing the unity of man in history than do those fantasies of denial that maintain the innocence of youth by insisting on a discontinuity between the child, the adolescent, and the man.

[106] Blos, *On Adolescence*, 11–12.

[107] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), *Standard Edition*, 5: 480, 569.

[108] John Klauber, "On the Dual Use of Historical and Scientific Method in Psychoanalysis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 49, pt. 1 (1968): 80–88.

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Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian Experience

CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON

A bas Cabet! A bas les communistes! This was the cry of bourgeois national guardsmen as they whirled through the streets of Paris on the evening of April 16, 1848, searching for those who had supposedly attempted to overthrow the provisional government that afternoon. It was surely the grey and balding Cabet they had seen mounted upon a white stallion at the side of Blanqui, leading columns of workers to besiege the Hôtel de Ville. They sought out his followers, threatened them with death (at least one was pitched into the Seine), and gathered before his office-dwelling in the old rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau, chanting for his entrails. Cabet's dream of a French Icaria, rekindled by the events of February, collapsed that night. Indeed, April 16 sounded the death knell of *la République sociale* in any form. Ledru-Rollin, who had already avowed his hatred for communists, now showed scant love for any of those who, by their blood on the barricades and their presence in the streets on February 24, had assured him the portfolio of the Interior.[1]

What about these cries in the night against "communism" and their nearly exclusive association with the name Cabet? Today, Étienne Cabet appears in the catalogue of "utopian socialists" as the nebulous and not very literate author of a communist plan called *Voyage en Icarie* who later went off into the American wilderness for yet another try at community building.[2] It is clear, however, that this man and his Icarians were of some

Research for this study would not have been possible without fellowships from the Social Science Research Council (1964–65) and Wayne State University (1969). The author wishes to thank both institutions for their assistance.

[1] On the significance of April 16, on communist witch-hunting, and on Cabet's place in the crisis, see: Jean Dautry, *1848 et la Deuxième République* (2d ed.; Paris, 1957), 126–32; Georges Duveau, *1848* (Paris, 1965), 98–105, 229–32; Pierre Angrand, *Étienne Cabet et la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1948), 53–57; Louis Ménard, *Prologue d'une révolution* (Cahiers de la Quinzaine ed.; Paris, 1949), 79–86; *Le Cri contre le communisme* (Paris [1848]) (a copy is located in Fonds Liesville, Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris); *Le Populaire* (Cabet's newspaper), Mar. 23–Apr. 27, 1848; and especially T. W. Thornton, "Anti-Communist Demonstrations," *The Reasoner*, May 7, 1848.

[2] Such is the impression given in many standard works. See, for instance, G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 1: *The Forerunners* (London, 1950), 76; and Louise Berneri, *Journey through Utopia* (London, 1950), 222.

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Fig. 1. The rest of the original caption reads in translation: "[The communists] are a set of brigands who claim that everyone has the right to live by working, that the earth is large enough to feed all its children, that wine brutalizes man, and a thousand other similar atrocities in the name of fraternity. Death to the Communists, Socialists, etc., etc." This is the best and most sympathetic of several surviving lithographs that relate to the anticommunist campaign of April 1848. Photograph: Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale.

political potency in 1848. It is equally clear that they had little direct influence on the development of the European socialist movement.[3] This lack of influence perhaps explains the historiographical shadow that has sur-

[3] The word "direct" should be emphasized. Cabet's denunciation of conspiratorial tactics and his assessment of class antagonism influenced many French and German militants. Moreover, a number of his followers of the 1840s played important roles in the Revolution of 1848 and after. See Christopher H. Johnson, "Étienne Cabet and the Problem of Class Antagonism," *International Review of Social History,* 11 (1966): 403–43; and Johnson, "Étienne Cabet and the

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rounded the Icarian communist experience. Whatever its significance in the 1840s, it was a manifest failure. Happily, recent historical scholarship has been less concerned with linear "progress" and influence than with the comparative analysis of social change. In such a framework successes and failures have equal relevance.[4] All forms of social movements, whether "primitive" or archaic, "transitional" or modern, must draw the attention of historians if we are to begin to move toward general theories of human behavior—in this case, specifically, theories of collective behavior and of the process of modernization.

It has recently been suggested that communism arises naturally during the early phases of industrialization. Adam Ulam, in *The Unfinished Revolution,* presents the thesis that there seems to be a "Marxist period" in the history of every developing society. The essentials of Marxism are thus merely somewhat more sophisticated expressions of a widespread popular "feeling," and students and policy makers alike must analyze not only communist doctrine but the sociology of the structures and movements within which communism emerges. Ulam bases much of his study on an examination of the original manifestations of Marxism in Europe. What he does not do, however, is to assess the communist thrust in its earliest natural setting: Western Europe from 1830 to 1848. This pre-Marxian communism, after all, created the "specter" of '48.[5] Instead, Ulam views the "utopian" communists and socialists as intellectual contributors to Marxism or, at best, as representatives of the anti-industrial urge present in Europe's still largely traditional economy.[6] In effect, he bypasses the "Marxist period" before Karl Marx, assuming that Marx alone presented the logic of industrial progress in such a way as to form a pro-industrial revolutionary working-class movement. Yet the Icarian movement (and much of neo-Babouvism as well) had already bound together anticapitalist emotion and faith in technological progress. Perhaps it is better to consider the early phase of economic modernization—in terms of the kind of popular response it evokes—simply as a "communist period."

Lorenz von Stein, in a penetrating analysis, prefigured Ulam's general theory when he said:

Many people believe that they understand the essential tenets of communism if they have grasped its main principle and its variations. . . . This opinion is the main

Icarian Communist Movement in France, 1839–1848" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1967), 581–90 (hereafter Johnson, Dissertation). Jean Gaumont also stressed the impact of Icarian thought on the cooperative movement in *Histoire générale de la Coöpération en France* (Paris, 1923–24), 1: 264, passim.

[4] There is no need to cite the mass of literature dealing with social movements that, according to the Whig interpretation of history, would be classified as failures. The most important books affecting my own thinking about the matter are E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, 1959); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963); and Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (New York, 1967).

[5] See especially Oscar J. Hammen, "1848 et 'le spectre du communisme,'" *Le Contrat social,* 2 (1958): 191–200.

[6] Ulam, *The Unfinished Revolution* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1964), 107–32.

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reason for the many vague and erroneous notions about communism; . . . one must above all guard against the interpretation of communism as a definite, clear, and logical system. Even at present, communism, growing in strength and scope, has no specific doctrine; all the individual communist trends and theories have little or no power at all over communism as a whole; communism has sometimes accepted, sometimes refuted them, has temporarily embraced them but again forgotten them without changing its character or its direction. This is precisely why communism is so much more important and more powerful than socialism. . . . Socialism is the scientific expression of the interpretation of the social movement by an individual, while communism is a response of a whole class, the expression of a whole social situation. . . .

Communism is a phenomenon and a trend in the contemporary world, which has first drawn attention to the contradictions within industrial society and which has made both major classes [bourgeoisie and proletariat] aware of this contradiction. It has not developed logically but grown historically; it is not a teaching, but a condition.[7]

In this view, communism was a kind of *Urtheorie* of the working class nurtured by the conditions of its existence. Doctrinal sophistication was not the foundation of its success. Engels said much the same thing: "It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctual sort of communism; and was powerful enough among the working class to produce the Utopian communism, in France of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling."[8]

While Cabet saw himself as something more than a historical by-product, Stein and Engels touched upon an essential chord in the history of early industrial societies. Once private property, beneath the patina of outward liberty and equality before the law, had become vaguely identified as the keystone of the emerging social system, belief in its total negation was almost a reflex reaction among the propertyless and the exploited.

Lorenz von Stein's aim was to warn conservative Europe of the dangers of communism. In the tradition of the best conservative scholarship of the day (one thinks also of Tocqueville), the *Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich* presented a frank and remarkably sophisticated appraisal of its subject. Its principal fault lay in its lack of statistical and concrete factual information. The aim of the present study is to penetrate the world of the Icarian worker and to determine more precisely the scope of this communist imperative, the kinds of men who threw in their lot with it, and their reasons for doing so. It will also attempt to capture the dynamics of the movement, especially its ultimate tendency toward sectarianism. The latter phenomenon, so fundamental in Owenism and Saint-Simonism,[9]

[7] Lorenz von Stein, *Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich* (Leipzig, 1850), 2: 334–35. I have followed Kaethe Mengelberg's translation save for the final clause. *History of the Social Movement in France* (Totawa, N. J., 1965), 282–83.

[8] Friedrich Engels, "Preface to the English Edition [of the *Communist Manifesto*] of 1888," in Lewis Feuer, ed., *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy* (Garden City, 1959), 4. See also the incisive comments of Armand Cuvillier, "Action ouvrière et communisme en France vers 1840 et aujourd'hui," *La Grande revue*, Dec. 1921, pp. 25–35.

[9] On the sectarian nature of Owenism, see J. F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World:*

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constitutes an important element in defining the normally vague term "utopian" and thus carries us to another level of significance.

ALTHOUGH CABET, then fifty-one years old, returned from exile in London in 1839 and began to expound his doctrine almost immediately, his following did not take on the dimensions of a movement until 1843. The crucial turning point, according to Cabet and in the light of objective evidence, was "the triumph of communism at Toulouse." This political trial, which occurred in late August 1843, became a *cause célèbre* for the entire Left, and after the twelve communist and republican defendants were acquitted, few could disagree with the remark of one of the lawyers, Jacques Joly: the government, he said, "picked a fight with Communism; but the dispute has been settled in its favor. It is henceforth an accepted idea that Icarian theory is *séduisante.*"[10] Cabet himself had come to Toulouse to defend Adolphe Gouhenant, the chief of his party there, but had been denied the right to plead on an unprecedented legal technicality. The court held that since he was not a member of the bar of Haute-Garonne (but only of the Seine), he could not be admitted as a defense lawyer. This injustice influenced the jury, as did the vagueness of the government's case, grounded as it was on inadmissible hearsay evidence of a police spy. The support voiced for the Icarian cause during the trial typifies the enthusiasm that the movement would generate over the next few years. Local authorities admitted that the audiences at the trial, mostly workers from the Faubourg Saint-Étienne, were "always large." Never had the avenues around the Palais been so crowded. The news of the acquittal "was received by the crowd outside with cries of *Vive le jury!*" Cabet himself exclaimed, "The entire city applauded the decision: joy is universal." The Icarian leader stayed on until September 15 and was introduced around the department by the jubilant Gouhenant. As the prefect dolefully conceded, "His name, his ideas have become somewhat more popular in this class [the workers], and he departed carrying 300 to 400 subscriptions or promises of subscriptions to his newspaper, *Le Populaire.*" Two months later Cabet assessed the effects of the trial.

[Communism] has passed the Rubicon; once cast into the world, it will make its way, if it is understood that it is the truth and that neither force nor slanders, nor

Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America (New York, 1969), 135–39. For Saint-Simonism, see Sébastien Charléty, *Histoire du saint-simonisme* (Paris, 1931), 57–222. Curiously, while some Fourierists saw their master as the second Christ and manifested millenarian attitudes, Fourierism never really advanced from "school" to "church." Perhaps the absence of authoritarian leadership and little government persecution provide part of the explanation. American Fourierists, however, were clearly sectarians.

[10] Joly, who defended Abdon Terradas, one of the exiled leaders of the recent republican uprising in Barcelona, was a deputy from Haute-Garonne and the future *commissaire* of the provisional government in 1848. For the full text of his summation, see *Le Populaire,* Nov. 12, 1843.

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outrages, nor persecution are capable of stopping it. Be prudent and wise! . . . Whatever lot the future prepares for us, there will be found martyrs ready to look it in the face and to bring about, by their dedication, the triumph of the idea which is destined to be the salvation of humanity.

Thereafter the Icarian communist movement grew to a point where Engels could say in 1847—with some exaggeration, to be sure—that Cabet was "the recognized representative of the great mass of the French proletarians."[11]

In 1844 and 1845 Cabet's growing influence began to provoke comment. Police and the public at large identified him as the "chef des communistes," thus indicating his position within the still fragmented communist camp.[12] Both Eugène Sue, the socialist novelist, and Eugène Pelletan, the moderate republican journalist, could agree that by 1845 Cabet's influence among French workers was equaled only by that of Louis Blanc. In the same year Karl Grün said that Cabet had already amassed the largest active backing of any contemporary European theorist. Two years later the strength of Icarian communism was undeniable. The bourgeois *Industriel de Champagne* reported that in comparison with Babouvism, Fourierism, and Saint-Simonism, Cabet's doctrine united the most adherents and had "established profound roots in France." Proudhon, a hostile source, provided a very rough numerical estimate late in 1844: "Socialism does not yet have consciousness of itself; today it is called communism. The communists number one hundred thousand, perhaps two hundred." Dr. Desmoulins, an associate of Cabet at Tours, set the number of Icarians at one hundred thousand at the same time.[13] After he reluctantly decided to create a "nation" of Icarians in America in 1847, Cabet counted upon the immediate response

[11] The key documents on the Toulouse affair, 125 pieces in all, are Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), BB[18] 1409 dos. 6043. See also the Toulouse newspaper *L'Emancipation* during 1843, and Pierre Paul, "L'Agitation républicaine à Toulouse et dans la Haute-Garonne de 1840 à 1848," in Jacques Godechot, ed., *La Révolution de 1848 à Toulouse et dans la Haute-Garonne* (Toulouse, 1948), 43–46. For specific quotations, see Procureur général de Toulouse to the Garde des Sceaux, Aug. 21, 1843, AN, BB[18] 1409 dos. 6043; second comment quoted from *La France méridionale,* in Gabriel Marty, *Étienne Cabet et le procès des communistes à Toulouse en 1843* (Toulouse, 1928), 26; Dépêche télégraphique de Toulouse, Sept. 1, 1843, AN, BB[18] 1409 dos. 6043; Cabet, *Procès du communisme à Toulouse* (Paris, 1843), 94; Préfet to the minister of the interior, Sept. 18, 1843, Archives Départementales (hereafter AD), Haute-Garonne, quoted in Marty, *Étienne Cabet,* 57 (Cabet claimed that he gained 150 new subscribers in Toulouse due to the free publicity surrounding the trial. *Procès du communisme,* 94); *Le Populaire,* Nov. 12, 1843; and Engels, "Der Status Quo in Deutschland," *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 6, sec. 1 (Berlin, 1932): 232.

[12] A letter from one of Cabet's followers, Boitel, noted that the police in his commune had referred to Cabet in these terms. Boitel to Cabet (fragment), Aug. 21, 1844, Papiers Cabet, VIII, Série 25, Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris (hereafter BHVP). By 1845 such terminology had become habitual in official correspondence and the press.

[13] Sue praised Cabet as the man "whose truly Christian heart gives such a pacific, fraternal, and moral character to the just demands of the communists." (From *La Démocratic pacifique,* quoted in *Le Populaire,* Mar. 1845. In late 1844 and early 1845 *Le Populaire* was dated by month only.) For Pelletan's remarks, see *La Presse,* Mar. 10, 1845. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* (Darmstadt, 1845), 333–36; *L'Industriel,* Dec. 16, 1847; Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *Correspondance,* 2 (Paris, 1875): 161; Desmoulins, letter in *Le Populaire,* Oct. 1844.

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of twenty thousand individuals to his call.[14] He did not, of course, achieve his dream of an "emigration," and the small number of people who ultimately joined the colony at Nauvoo, Illinois, might be adduced as evidence that the scope of the Icarian movement has been greatly exaggerated. Such a conclusion ignores several factors, however: to support a cause and to leave one's homeland for it are two different things; Icarian emigrants had to pay their own way, and most adherents were poor; the movement suffered from serious internal conflict in 1847; and above all, the Revolution of 1848 first raised hopes of an Icarian France and then all but destroyed the movement.

An important index of the numerical strength and the growth of Icarianism after 1843 are the circulation figures of *Le Populaire* (see table 1).[15]

TABLE 1

Date	*New Subscribers*	*Total Printing*	*Date*	*New Subscribers*	*Total Printing*
October 1843		1900	July	78	3600
April 1844	92		August	120	3600
May	57		October	172	
June	58	2000	November	142	4000
July	62		December	102	
August	70		January 1847	117	
September	85	2200	February	80	
October–November	200		March	115	
December		2400	April	185	
February 1845	130		May	306	
March	150	2600	June	334	
April	149	2700	27 June–18 July	143	
May	84		18 July–15 August	168	
June–July	83		15 August–3 October	311	
July–August	115	3000	October	254	
September	80	3100	November	253	4500
December	138	3200	5 December–9 Januray 1848	341	
January 1846	136	3200	9 January–23 January	380	5000
February	115	3200	23 January–13 February	350	
March	89	3300			
April	104	3400			
May	163	3500			
June	102				

[14] His agent in London, Charles Sully, remarked to Robert Owen: "If we calculate on 20,000 we shall much under[r]ate the number of Icarians, and w[h]ere else shall we look for one-twentieth part of that number united or capable of being united?" Sully to Owen, Aug. 14, 1847, piece #1502, microfilm 1090, Owen Papers, University of Wisconsin.

[15] The figures recorded here are all drawn from *Le Populaire*, 1844–48. Unfortunately we do not have corroborative evidence. The "Dossier *Le Populaire*" (AN, F[18] 403) concerns only the newspaper edited by Cabet and L.-A. Pagnerre in 1833–35, and F[18] 569 dos. 996 contains reports on the publishing activities of Cabet's agent in France, J.-P. Beluze, from 1852 to 1856.

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Of what relevance are these figures in estimating the overall size of the movement? We must investigate the tricky relationship of circulation to the numbers of readers, of those influenced by readers, and of actual "converts." First of all, we know that the cost of many single subscriptions was shared by several individuals. For example, in June 1846 Cabet reported that three orders of the previous month had been shared by ten, twelve, and fifteen workers respectively. Moreover, one of the facets of French working-class culture during this era was the public reading and discussion of the radical press during Sunday afternoon gatherings at the cabarets.[16] Other means of spreading the word existed. One example comes from Sixte Boile, a barber in the working-class district of Vienne and an ardent propagator of the Icarian faith. He told the police in 1846 that "I put my newspaper [*Le Populaire*] on the bench; those who wait their turn read it and find it quite good."[17] Although newspaper hawking had been prohibited by law early in 1834 and the calling of formal public meetings severely restricted by the Law on Associations shortly thereafter, Cabet had a host of agents, either his local *correspondants* or—especially in the earlier stages of the movement—traveling propagandists such as Charles Chameroy, Albert Laponneraye, and Jacques Imbert, who organized meetings to read *Le Populaire* and the *Almanach icarien* and to discuss *Voyage en Icarie*. They also attempted to garner subscriptions and to distribute Cabet's numerous other publications.[18]

As for the actual ratio between the numbers of papers sold and the number of adherents, we can make only rough estimates. Cabet set the figure at about 1 to 25: late in 1843 he declared that with a total circulation of 1900, he had 50,000 reader-followers. This may not have been unduly optimistic. At Autun, for instance, there were 21 subscribers in August 1846, while an "address of affiliation" made the previous March was signed by 203 declared Icarians in the name of a total, it was said, of 500. The following year, Laty, the *correspondant* for Autun, reported that he had placed 600 copies of the *Almanach*. Four hundred copies of the *Almanach* were sold in Givors even though the number of subscribers to *Le Populaire* was only 24. At Vienne, Vincent Cöeffé, the *correspondant*, estimated the total Icarian force at 400 to 500, but only 62 subscriptions were held

If one doubts the validity of Cabet's figures, he should remember that *Le Populaire* was a *société commandite par actions* and that circulation and sales figures were given in the paper as a continuing report to the shareholders. The details (such as those presented in table 2) could be challenged easily—and never were—by any of Cabet's dozens of opponents. Cabet was accused of many things by the government and by his antagonists, but never of juggling his circulation figures. He may have been overbearing, suspicious (even paranoid), and obstreperous, but he was scrupulously honest about day-to-day affairs.

[16] *Le Populaire*, June 27, 1846; Martin Nadaud, *Mémoires de Léonard, ancien garçon maçon* (Bourganeuf, 1895), 99.

[17] Cited in Fernand Rude, "L'Arrondissement de Vienne en 1848," *La Révolution de 1848 dans le département de l'Isère* (Grenoble, 1949), 236.

[18] On such operations, see above all the collection of documents published by Jules Prudhommeaux, "Un commis-voyageur en communisme icarien, Charles Chameroy," *La Révolution de 1848*, 24 (1927–28): 25–42, 65–84, 146–71.

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by Viennois. In 1847 the *Journal de Reims* stated that there were 49 (54 was the exact total) Rémois subscribers to Cabet's paper but that it "influences 1200 to 1500" individuals. Such examples can be multiplied at random. It does not seem outlandish to estimate the ratio between Icarians and subscribers at about 20 to 1. This bears some correspondence to the general estimates we have already cited.[19] Other data, while not very helpful in establishing a total figure, contribute to an appreciation of the scope of the movement. *Le Populaire*'s subscription for a medal for Eugène Sue in 1846 produced 7,151 individual contributions (and 711 fr. 75), while 3,492 gave to Cabet's collection to assist the Polish revolutionaries during the same year. When *Le vrai Christianisme,* Cabet's last important book, appeared in 1846, 2,000 copies were purchased in twenty days. The *Almanach icarien* also sold quite well. Karl Grün, probably informed by Hermann Ewerbeck, noted that eight thousand 1843 almanacs were sold and the 1844 issue had ten thousand buyers.[20]

In comparison with *L'Atelier,* the most renowned newspaper of the "working-class press" during the 1840s, the readership of *Le Populaire* was massive. This famous journal (also a monthly) never claimed more than 600 regular subscribers before 1848, and the total number printed reached a pre-Revolutionary maximum of 1,050 in 1847. Only a small proportion of these subscribers were workers, and *L'Atelier*'s influence was largely limited to Paris.[21] Circulation information on *La Ruche populaire* and *La Fraternité de 1845,* the two other significant papers aimed at a working-class audience, is vague, but neither appears to have claimed more than one thousand readers before 1848. In fact, the scope of *Le Populaire*'s readership can only be compared with the circulation of the major reform journals whose subscribers were largely bourgeois. The mean number of copies of *Le Populaire* printed in 1846 was 3,500, while for *La Réforme* it was 1,860, for *La Démocratie Pacifique* 1,665, and for the influential *National* 4,280.[22] To be sure, these journals were all dailies, but even so, such figures are impressive evidence of the breadth of Cabet's movement. When we couple this statistical information with the great agitation and concern on the Left raised by the emigration proposal of 1847 and with the clear importance of Cabet and the Icarian groups in Paris and in several provincial centers in 1848,[23] it is difficult to deny that Icarian communism constituted far more

[19] It might be argued that the regular readers of *Le Populaire* were not all adherents of Icarian doctrine. This is probably true. We shall see that Cabet lost subscribers during a conflict with Ledru-Rollin in 1845–46, most of them no doubt previously sympathetic *réformistes.* But the highly doctrinaire nature of the movement and Cabet's stress on loyalty make it likely that non-Icarian readers of his newspaper comprised only a small percentage. Sources for the foregoing figures: *Le Populaire,* Oct. 1, 1843, Mar. 26, July 26, Aug. 28, 1846; *Journal de Reims,* Dec. 4, 1847.

[20] *Le Populaire,* Sept. 27, June 26, Oct. 31, 1846; Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung,* 336.

[21] Armand Cuvillier, *Un Journal d'ouvriers: l'Atelier (1840–1850)* (Paris, 1954), 177–79.

[22] See J.-P. Aguet, "Le Tirage des quotidiens de Paris sous la Monarchie de Juillet," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte,* 10 (1960): 216–86.

[23] Johnson, Dissertation, 535–43, 563–603; Angrand, *Étienne Cabet,* 34–79.

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than a mere apparition during the years immediately preceding the upheaval of 1848.

Perhaps more significant than the total number of Icarians in France was the geographical extent of the movement. By August 1846 there were subscribers to *Le Populaire* in seventy-eight departments. Table 2, which appeared in *Le Populaire* on August 28, 1846, pinpoints the location of Icarian strength, although it does not indicate its later importance in towns such as St. Étienne, Le Havre, Mirecourt, and Luçon.

TABLE 2

Department (*city*)	*Subscribers*	*Department* (*city*)	*Subscribers*
Ain	7	Drôme	4
Aisne	17	Eure	17
Laon	4	Evreux	6
Vervin	2	Eure-et-Loir	8
St.-Quentin	2	Chartres	4
Allier	6	Finistère	3
Alpes (Hautes)	1	Gard	6
Alpes (Basses)	2	Nîmes	4
Ardèche (all at Annonay)	12	Garonne (Haute)	154
Ardennes	8	Toulouse	136
Sedan	4	Gers	8
Rethel	3	Gironde	13
Aube	16	Bordeaux	8
Troyes	14	Hérault	14
Aude	26	Montpellier	5
Carcassonne	9	Béziers	5
Narbonne	3	Cette	3
La Grasse	4	Ille-et-Vilaine (all at Rennes)	16
Bouches-du-Rhône	41	Indre	5
Marseille	27	Indre-et-Loire	26
Aix	13	Tours	21
Calvados	8	Isère	86
Charente	12	Grenoble	16
Angoulème	9	Vienne	62
Charente-Inférieure	2	Jura	1
Cher	2	Landes	1
Corrèze	1	Loir-et-Cher	2
Côte-d'Or	14	Loire	40
Côtes-du-Nord	2	Rive-de-Gier	16
Creuse	2	Loire-Inférieure	95
Dordogne	76	Nantes	94
Périgueux	54	Loiret	7
Thiviers	6	Pithiviers	4
Doubs	11	Lot	4
Besançon	8		

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TABLE 2 (Continued)

Department (*city*)	*Subscribers*		*Department* (*city*)	*Subscribers*	
Lot-et-Garonne		20	Sarthe		9
Agen	11		Le Mans	4	
Nérac	6		Seine-et-Marne		1
Maine-et-Loire		3	Seine-et-Oise		81
Manche		1	Versailles	28	
Marne		54	Seine-Inférieure		72
Reims	49		Rouen	61	
Marne (Haute)		5	Sèvres (Deux)		34
Mayenne		2	Niort	24	
Meurthe		28	Somme		5
Nancy	24		Tarn (all at Albi)		29
Meuse		8	Tarn-et-Garonne		5
Moselle		3	Var		70
Nièvre		9	Toulon	54	
Nord		1	Brignoles	10	
Oise		22	Vaucluse		1
Méru	11		Vendée		3
Orne		3	Vienne		3
Pas-de-Calais		6	Vienne (Haute)		6
Calais	5		Vosges		14
Puy-de-Dôme		14	Yonne		6
Clermont	4				
Thiers	3		Total		1,707
Pyrénées (Basses)		9	Paris		952
Bayonne	7		Banlieu		86
Pyrénées-Orientales		11			
Perpignan	4		Subscribers in France		2,745
Rhin (Bas)		2	Sold *au bureau* and by *correspondants*		ca. 700
Rhin (Haut)		40	Total sales in France		3,445
Mulhouse	26		Foreign subscribers		94
Belfort	6				
Massevaux	5		Total sales		3,539
Rhône		303	Exchanges and free copies		49
Lyon	256				
Givors	24		Total circulation		3,588
Saône (Haute)		7	Press run		3,600
Saône-et-Loire		38			
Autun	21				

Several facts immediately strike the eye. Above all, twenty-two cities (including the Parisian *banlieu*) account for seventy-six per cent of the total number of subscribers in France.[24] Essentially, Cabet had no rural follow-

[24] Albi, Autun, Bordeaux, Givors, Grenoble, Lyon, Marseille, Mulhouse, Nancy, Nantes, Paris

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ing at all, and although two or three letters printed in *Le Populaire* may have come from "villagers," the weakness of Icarianism in basically agricultural departments and the urban concentration of subscriptions in those that might qualify as largely agricultural, make this clear. Also, when Cabet realized that he needed farmers in his American Icaria, he had L.-V. Maillard, one of his lieutenants, write a brochure called *Les Villageois* (1847) to appeal to peasants directly for the first time. Among the twenty-two cities, modern industry was dominant in only three: Rouen and Mulhouse, where mechanical cotton spinning had become a major source of employment, and Rive-de-Gier, in the heart of the principal coal-mining region in France during the July Monarchy. In several others, industrialization was beginning to have an impact, notably in the Parisian suburbs, and in Reims, Givors, and Vienne. In Paris, the commercialization—especially the growth of "ready-made" production—of older craft industries was moving apace. Lyon was dominated by the silk industry, which exhibited a highly capitalistic putting-out system of production marked by intense antagonism between *canut* and *fabricant*. Traditional craft industry held sway in the other towns where Icarian communism showed strength. As we shall see shortly, this correlates well with the occupational analysis of the movement. The virtual absence of Icarians in the rapidly industrializing cities of the Nord, such as Lille and Roubaix, is indicative that one of the general rules of the social impact of industrialism holds for Icarianism as well: the new factory proletarian is normally passive and without political consciousness during the initial phase of industrialization.[25]

A majority of Cabet's subscribers were provincial. In some cities, such as Reims and Vienne, Icarian communism was the first doctrine of social reform ever to gain wide currency among the working classes. In many cases, the proportion of Icarians to the total number of workers was much higher in provincial cities than in Paris. For instance, at Vienne, where the total number of workers was around 7,000, there were 62 subscriptions to *Le Populaire*—a ratio of about 110 to 1; in Paris, the figures are 342,000 and 962, or a ratio of 350 to 1.[26]

The third key question concerns the occupational structure of the Icarian movement. It has been possible to identify the occupations of 497 declared Icarians (see table 3). This is a large enough number to make some projections about the occupational breakdown of the movement as a whole.

This table is admittedly an approximation. It is not a random sample but a collection of all the individual Icarians whose occupations are known

and its *banlieu*, Périgueux, Reims, Rive-de-Gier, Rouen, Toulouse, Toulon, Tours, Troyes, Versailles, and Vienne.

[25] See André Lasserre, *La Situation des ouvriers de l'industrie textile dans la région lilloise sous la Monarchie de Juillet* (Lausanne, 1951), 226–27.

[26] The figures on the total number of workers in each city are drawn from Rude, "L'Arrondissement de Vienne," 216, and Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique de l'Industrie de Paris* (Paris, 1851), 38.

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TABLE 3

Occupation	*Number*	*Per cent*
Tailors	89	18
Shoemakers and bootmakers	82	17
Cabinetmakers	28	5.5
Hatters	14	3
Weavers	37	7
Building trades workers	41	8
Mécaniciens	13	2.5
Locksmiths	11	2
Jewelers	10	2
Printers, lithographers, binders	7	1.5
Spinners	2	0.5
Diverse occupations	90	18
Total workers or artisans (status unspecified)	424	85
(a) In traditional crafts	379	76
(b) Possibly in modern industry[1]	23	4.5
(c) In food and service industries[2]	22	4.5
Masters and *chefs d'atelier* (specified)	11	2
Petits bourgeois (shopkeepers and clerks)	17	3.5
Commercial bourgeois[3]	19	4
Professional bourgeois[4]	23	4.5
Rentier	1	—
Peasants	2	0.5
Grand totals	497	99.5

[1] Included here (despite the lack of precision): *mécaniciens, fondeurs, fileurs, ouvriers en limes,* a *raffineur,* and a *gazier.*

[2] Included here and not calling themselves *marchands: boulangers, bouchers,* a *patissier,* a *charcutier,* a *crémier,* a *garçon de café, blanchisseurs, coiffeurs, conducteurs de diligence,* and *jardiniers.*

[3] 8 *marchands* and *commis,* 8 *fabricants,* 3 *négociants.*

[4] 4 lawyers, 3 physicians, 2 teachers, 7 writers, artists, or students, and 7 from diverse occupations.

SOURCES: The principal sources for table 3 are: (1) the list of shareholders and their occupations printed at the end of Cabet's brochure, *Les Masques arrachés* (Paris, 1844); (2) additional names in a similar list supporting the *Biographie de M. Cabet* published by the Actionnaires du Populaire (Paris, 1846); (3) "adresses d'adhesion" with names and occupations from Nantes, Tours, Reims, and Périgueux appearing in *Le Populaire;* (4) a short list of *correspondants* that appeared in *Le Populaire* on Dec. 25, 1846, plus additional *correspondants* whose occupations are given in various issues of *Le Populaire,* the *Almanachs,* Cabet's brochures, and the local press (25 persons altogether); (5) the Lyon Commission *(Le Populaire,* Aug. 22, 1844) and other Lyonnais Icarians whose occupations I have discovered in a wide variety of sources (29 persons); (6) new names appearing on addresses and personal letters protesting Cabet's arrest and trial for "swindling" early in 1848 (Cabet, *Notre procès en escroquerie* [Paris, 1849]); (7) new names on a list of members of the Société pour fonder l'Icarie, formed late in 1847 *(Le Populaire,* Oct. 17, 1847); and (8) additional persons drawn from a host of archival and printed documents concerning the Icarian movement (see Johnson, Dissertation, biblography, I, A and B). This collection has been made on the basis of name and occupation. No person has been counted more than once. The largest numbers of names and occupations come from the years 1843 and 1847, thus encompassing both the earlier and later phases of the movement. I have been reluctantly forced to reject one source, a long list of correspondents compiled by the procureur général of Saint Quentin from Cabet's files in preparation for his trial of January 1848, since there is no indication of how many were actually Icarian adherents and how many were in correspondence with Cabet for other reasons. For this list, see Pierre Caron, "Cabet et l'Icarie en 1847, document inédit," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,* 8 (1907): 569–85.

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and is necessarily dependent on the nature of the sources. Three major sources, two lists of shareholders of *Le Populaire* (1844 and 1846) and one bearing the names of those belonging to the Société pour fonder l'Icarie (1847), while excellent in that they include affiliates at three different stages of the movement, are somewhat misleading in two respects. First of all, Parisian trades are overrepresented. (About fifty per cent of the people included in this table are Parisians, while only one third of *Le Populaire*'s subscribers were from Paris or the *banlieu*). Secondly, since it cost money to become a shareholder or to join the Icarian colony, better-paying occupations are no doubt overrepresented as well. Moreover, we lack long lists of supporters (with their occupations) from Vienne, Rouen, Mulhouse, or Lyon; hence textile workers—especially weavers—are probably less numerous here than their actual strength in the movement would suggest. Then there is the problem of the craft status of the many traditional artisans who were affiliated with Icarian communism. How many were masters and how many wage-earning journeymen (or other variations)? We do not really know. A man who lists himself as a *cordonnier,* for example, could well be a master shoemaker. At the same time we know that Cabet desired to make the movement seem as respectable as possible and hence made every effort to present the highest status indication possible for his followers. Overall, it is probable that the number of masters listed is too low, but there can be little doubt that a large majority of Cabet's artisan followers were *ouvriers.* In any case, the income differentials among master, *chef d'atelier,* wage-earning worker, and an *ouvrier* working on his own account without receiving wages was often not very great in the tailoring, shoemaking, and weaving trades (although there might be a great range from one type of establishment, product, or town to another). This is an extremely complex problem that cannot be fully sorted out with only such summary occupational designations as *tisserand* or *tailleur.* Finally, I suspect that workers in modern industry are underrepresented, though not by a great deal. Icarianism did show strength in towns where factory industry and mining had made important inroads and, since we have little occupational information from these cities, it is likely that the number of spinners, for instance, indicated here is not completely accurate.

Two technical problems should also be mentioned. *Menuisier* might indicate either a furniture maker working on common woods—as opposed to the higher status *ébéniste*—or a woodworker in the building trades, and we have no way of distinguishing between the two (only two *menuisiers* indicated their connection—one in each occupation). I have therefore divided the twenty-four *menuisiers* equally between the two trades. The same question arises with *serruriers* ("locksmiths") who might be true locksmiths, stovesmiths, metalworkers connected with the building trades, or machinists (*mécanicien* and *serrurier* could connote the same occupation). There is really no way of dealing with this problem systematically.

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It is clear from table 3, whatever its shortcomings, that Cabet's adherents were overwhelmingly recruited from the working class as it was defined in the 1840s. In contrast, the other great "school" of the day, the Fourierists, seems to have attracted mostly well-educated professionals and other *moyens bourgeois*.[27] Within the Icarian group, four-fifths of the working-class element came from trades dominated by handicraft artisans and among these, tailors and shoemakers alone constituted two-fifths. The latter were among the most populous trades in France and particularly in Paris. But forty per cent of the Icarian workers came from these trades, a figure that far outstrips the proportion of tailors and shoemakers working in Paris, which was twelve per cent in 1848.[28] Cabet drew poorly from the "aristocratic" crafts such as printing and jewelry making (despite their overrepresentation noted above). These were occupational groups that were more interested in economic action and moderate political pressure within the existing social framework, and that gave support to *L'Atelier*, to Ledru-Rollin, and even to *Le National*.[29] The building trades gave only moderate support to Icarian communism: while they constituted twelve per cent of the worker population in Paris in 1847–48, ten per cent of Icarian workers were in the building trades, and a large majority of these were provincials. This fact tends to support the oft-repeated assertion that Parisian builders, if they were to take a political position, would line up with the proponents of violence. Still, Icarian communism made an impact among these men. A Parisian mason reported in 1846 that pacific "communism has recently made considerable headway among the workers in the building trades; . . . there are few workshops that do not seriously discuss [it]."[30]

The lack of petit-bourgeois support reveals that there was little "sans-culottisme" in Icarian communism. The line had been well drawn during

[27] No detailed study of the Fourierist movement during the 1840s has yet been made, but most indications sustain the judgment of Sébastien Commissaire (*Mémoires et Souvenirs* [Lyon, 1888]), that "*Le phalanstère* scarcely found any partisans in the working class." Georges Duveau (*1848*, 241), who quotes Commissaire to this effect, notes, however, that Fourier was fairly well known among the working-class leaders. Anthime Corbon (*Le secret du Peuple de Paris* [Paris, 1863], 99–108) says that both Fourierism and Saint-Simonism were much less popular with the lower classes than was communism. Finally the government was less likely to attack Fourierist groups than communist ones precisely because it recognized their social composition. Of the four documents concerning Fourierist public lectures that I have found in series BB[18] (Justice) at the Archives Nationales, two note that they were attended by the respectable classes and were allowed to continue until their completion (lectures given by Jules Duval and Victor Hennequin at Limoges and Grenoble in 1847). But Victor Considérant spoke to assemblies "composed largely of workers" in Saint-Quentin in 1845, and the lectures were apparently suspended. The other document, concerning a lecture held in Lyon in 1847, does not mention the social composition of the audience or the outcome. That the authorities were complacent about the dangers of Fourierism is indicated by the fact that the mayor of Limoges, with the approbation of the prefect (who attended the first two meetings), allowed Duval to give his lectures in the Palais de Justice. Later in 1847, however, Duchâtel, the minister of the interior, instituted a general policy to forbid Fourierist public lectures in light of the "present crisis." AN, BB[18] 1434 dos. 619A, 1451 dos. 3600, 3636.

[28] Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique*, table 28.

[29] See Cuvillier, *L'Atelier*, 179–81.

[30] *Almanach icarien pour 1846* (Paris, 1845), 180–81.

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the July Monarchy: the grocer and the stationer, the fruit lady and the baker could easily rally to social republicanism, but communism was not the society of small property holders, not Robespierre's *republique des jouissances;* it was instead a world in which they would have no function at all and in which they could no longer look down their noses at those whose only property was their hands. The same type of argument assists in explaining what appears to be the small number of master artisans in the Icarian ranks.

Finally, these data clearly indicate the meager following that Cabet found among bourgeois occupations. This was a heart-breaking experience for him, for he had expected that he could count upon the good will of the propertied classes, that they could be rationally convinced of the happiness for all to be found under communism. As I have shown elsewhere, this failure to win adherents among the bourgeoisie caused Cabet to recognize the deep antagonism that existed between the working class and the bourgeoisie in France at the time and that would ultimately face him with the bitter choice between the promotion of working-class revolution and escape.[31]

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION of Icarian adherence requires careful examination, since through this analysis we can begin to appreciate the constellation of social conditions that Lorenz von Stein felt was fundamental to an understanding of the rise of communism.

France was entering the industrial era during the July Monarchy. Despite an excessively cautious financial elite, a land-tenure system injurious to the rapid growth of a factory labor force and to aggregate demand, grossly unimaginative official tariff and transport policies, a social structure inhibiting mobility and entrepreneurship, and an inadequate supply of modern industrial resources, an industrial revolution got underway from 1815 to 1848. But economic modernization meant more than the mechanization of industry. Indeed, a case might be made that the key changes before the Second Empire derived less from new technology than from more efficient business practices and more careful exploitation of traditional labor resources. It was, for instance, the sophistication of management and marketing procedures and the concentration of ownership that maintained the place of the Lyon silk industry in the world market, and it was the growth of standardization and a putting-out system that developed a mass market in clothing and furniture. The employment of low-paid rural hand-loom weavers did as much as the mule-jenny to make the common textile industries economically viable. Moreover, an increasing division of labor and local specialization characterized the development of many industries yet untouched by the factory system. Industrial progress without mechanization

[31] Johnson, "Cabet and Class Antagonism," *passim.*

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was by no means unique to the French industrial revolution. A high degree of efficiency and productivity was achieved, for instance, in the English Midlands hardware industry in a handicraft technical framework that lasted well into the Victorian era.[32] One also thinks of the deliberate industrial dispersion policies of contemporary China. For our purposes, at least, such processes were critical because they lay beneath the difficulties faced by many Icarian workers.

The principal problem in Lyon was not a condition of absolute misery. Villermé, for instance, described the workers' situation in the silk industry quite favorably, compared to that in Lille, Rouen, or Nantes.[33] It was, rather, a question of relative stagnation after the prosperity of the Napoleonic and early Restoration years. Thus increased efficiency, marked by concentration of ownership, ruralization of labor resources, and experiments with mixed cloths, became the hallmark of Lyonnais entrepreneurship. Prices fell, the *fabricants* turned the screw, and the *canuts* were faced with downward pressure on their wages and higher rates of unemployment than had existed in the halcyon days gone by. This frustrating experience fell upon the most skilled and literate working-class population in France, a population also renowned for its sobriety and its sensitive, often rather mystical mentality.[34] Already in the thirities it had taken the lead in the revolt against capitalism, and by 1840 it was, man for man, the most mature and politically conscious working class on the Continent. Icarian communism took Lyon by storm. As early as 1841 an independent newspaper, *Le Travail,* was staffed in large part by Icarians. By 1846 there were 256 subscribers to *Le Populaire,* and 1,500 signed a supportive declaration late in 1847. The most vital doctrinal debates within the Icarian camp occurred among Lyonnais adherents.[35] Although we do not have an extensive list of Icarians in Lyon, of the twenty-nine whose occupations are known, seventeen were employed in the silk industry.[36] Its difficulties and the idealist propensities of its workers were surely important bases for the rise of Icarian communism in Lyon.

In the varied world of the Parisian *artisanat,* key material factors under-

[32] W. H. B. Court, "Industrial Organization and Economic Progress in the Eighteenth Century Midlands," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 4th ser., 28 (1946): 85–99; reprinted in W. H. B. Court, *Scarcity and Choice in History* (New York, 1970), 235–49.

[33] L. R. Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et morale des ouvriers employés dans le manufacture de coton, de laine et de soie* (Paris, 1840), 2: 336.

[34] See, for the foregoing, A. L. Dunham, *The Industrial Revolution in France, 1815–1848* (New York, 1955), 317–27; *Annuaire de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon, 1848); Georges Duveau, *La Vie ouvrière sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1946), 179 (for the figures on concentration); Fernand Rude, *Le Mouvement ouvrier à Lyon, 1827–1832* (Paris, 1944), *passim;* Rude, "Le Mouvement ouvrier de Lyon," *Revue de psychologie des peuples,* 13 (1958): 223–46; and J. Godart, "Les Origines de la Coöperation lyonnaise," *La Révolution de 1848,* 3 (1904): 337, 411.

[35] Maximillien Buffenoir, "Le Communisme à Lyon de 1834 à 1848," *Revue d'histoire de Lyon,* Sept.–Oct. 1909, pp. 347–61, as supplemented by Christopher H. Johnson, "Deux lettres inédites de cinq ouvriers lyonnais à Cabet et à Dézamy," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale,* 47 (1969): 529–39, and Johnson, Dissertation, 444–71.

[36] The list of Icarian occupations for Lyon has been drawn from the commission registered in *Le Populaire,* Aug. 22, 1844, letters to Cabet from Lyonnais followers, judiciary reports, and the local press.

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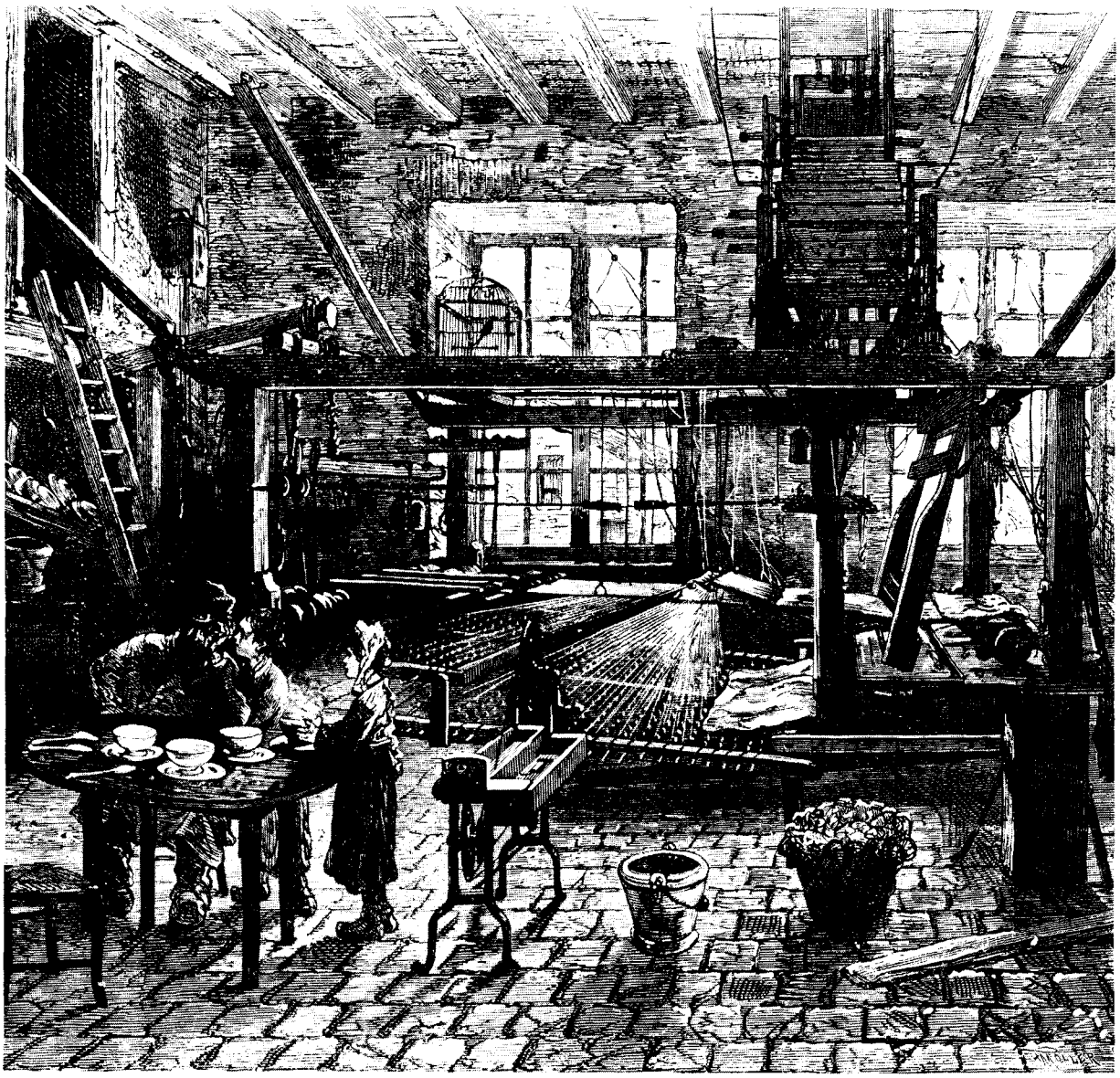


Fig. 2. Crisis in Lyon: A Silk Weaver's Workshop. The scene gives an impression of the mood produced by the temporary unemployment that so often gripped Lyon. The silence of the massive Jacquard loom and the despair of its skilled operator created conditions favorable to communism. Photograph: Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale.

lying discontent were the growth of a modernized putting-out system in the needlework and furniture trades and the influx of competitors from the provinces and foreign countries. The former posed pressures on two levels. The new and growing element of tailors, for instance, paid by the piece and producing standardized low- and medium-quality garments for merchant-manufacturers, could compete successfully with those more highly

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skilled artisans who still cut to order—at least those whose customers came from low- and middle-income brackets. Secondly, for all the old-line handicraftsmen, still thinking in terms of quality of workmanship and enjoying the dignity of independence, the mass-production climate created by *confection* (ready-made production) must have had devastating psychological effects.[37] Concrete evidence of resistance to ready-made production may be seen in the practice of selling *à la trôle* among the cabinetmakers, who would carry a finished piece—fashioned to their own standards and tastes and not those of some commissioned agent—out of their own quarter in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine over to a busy commercial street (such as the rue du Temple) and offer it to passers-by or perhaps to a shopkeeper for resale. "Often they wandered around until evening without selling a thing; then, fatigued from carrying a considerable load since morning, forced now to head for home, and afraid to return without the money so often necessary to live and to pay for the primary material purchased on credit, they are obliged to let the piece go at a very low price."[38] One can thus appreciate the pressure to submit to *confection* and the frustrations felt in the crafts where it developed. This was one of the chief sources of the intense feeling against middlemen in 1848. Thus the largest occupational groups in the Icarian movement were experiencing the process of proletarianization without significant mechanization during the 1840s.[39]

The competition of standardized goods in these trades was by no means limited to Paris. Many cities, not all of them large, saw the influx of traveling *confectionneurs*, who set up at fairs and markets to sell their cheaper goods. In some cases, clothing, at least, was manufactured by prisoners and poorhouse tenants and marketed at very low prices by entrepreneurs holding government concessions. Niort, a town where Icarianism possessed a number of followers, was riven with the problem. Not only were its 143 tailors and seamstresses plagued by the sale of ready-made clothing—"the residents of the countryside and many workers of the city prefer" these goods—but hundreds of shoemakers had been driven to produce *pour la pacotille* (ready-made *chaussures* to be sold at fairs) for less than subsistence wages.[40]

What is more, competition was intense in the leading Icarian trades. To practice one's craft in Paris was the goal of most French artisans not

[37] Office du Travail, *Rapport sur l'apprentissage dans les industries de l'ameublement* (Paris, 1905), 87; Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique*, 54. Armand Cuvillier emphasizes the restitution of the workingman's dignity as a key element of the revolutionary mentality of 1848. "Idéologie de 1848," *Hommes et idéologies de 1840* (Paris, 1956), 227–45.

[38] Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique*, 160.

[39] On this overall development, see Louis Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1950), 115–18.

[40] A wealth of information on the nationwide incidence of *confection* exists in the Enquête sur le travail agricole et industrial ordered by the National Assembly in 1848 (AN, C 943–69). I am currently analyzing these documents in detail and have not yet prepared a systematic tabulation. For Niort, see AN, C 966 (cantons de Niort). See also the Procès verbaux des Commissions d'enquête du Nord (AD, M 547/1) and Isère (AD, 62 M 1). On violence against *confectionneurs* carried out by tailors in Grenoble, see AN, BB[18] 1421 dos. 8243.

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only because of the relatively higher wages in Paris (something of a fiction, given the higher cost of living), but also because one had "arrived" when he could make his way in the style center of the world.[41] The influx of foreign workers, particularly from Germany, was also significant during the July Monarchy. National prejudice compounded the bitterness aroused by the glutted labor market. Physical conflict occurred so often that masters were forced to staff workshops entirely with either Germans or Frenchmen. The overcrowded situation meant large-scale unemployment and continuous underemployment. In 1841 Cabet himself noted, with some exaggeration perhaps, that "more than 15,000 *ouvriers tailleurs* are today without work." Precisely what happened to wages among shoemakers, needleworkers, and cabinetmakers is unclear, but we know that clothing workers, the group with whom Cabet possessed the greatest influence, was the lowest paying in Paris in 1847, with an average daily piece-wage of 3.34 francs.[42]

Two special problems were injurious to the interests of the shoemakers, not only in Paris but elsewhere. Nonmechanical technological advance, the change-over from the use of nails to rivets and screws, proved costly to the lower-income elements among them.[43] Secondly, journeyman shoemakers had formed a unit of the Compagnonnage in 1808, a move much resented by the older groups of this ancient institution. These neophytes were considered pariahs within the larger organization; murder and maiming of unwary shoemakers were not uncommon.[44] One begins to understand the bitterness of J. Coriot, a Parisian Icarian and shoemaker when, after describing his life as a starving *semainier*, a seasonally unemployed traveling piece-worker and a father of the "children of the poor," he remarked that by the age of forty, the shoemaker was "used up, damning the society that made him live and work like an animal to stay alive."[45]

Icarian communism developed deep roots in the lower Loire Valley and the west, stretching as far south as Périgord. Its capital was at Nantes, and its appeal there seems to have been especially strong among the very poor.[46] *Le National de l'Ouest* reported in 1844 that *Le Populaire* was much more popular than *L'Atelier*. Icarians themselves claimed that Cabet's paper was

[41] Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique*, 50; Office du Travail, *Rapport*, 92.

[42] See Chevalier, *La Formation*, 45–46; Ernst Schraepler, "Der Bund des Gerechten," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 2 (1964): 6–7; Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique*, 159, 49. In provincial France the wages of tailors and shoemakers rarely surpassed a daily equivalent of 1 fr. 75 and seem to have averaged around 1 fr. 40, thus placing them in the lower income bracket among workers. For male occupations, only common laborers, agricultural *journaliers*, hand-loom weavers, and men in severely threatened occupations—such as nail making by hand and wool combing *à domicile*—fared worse. These rough estimates are again based on my examination of the Enquête sur le travail, AN, C 943–69.

[43] Office du Travail, *Les Associations professionnelles ouvrières* (Paris, 1901), 2: 86–87.

[44] Jean Briquet, "La Signification sociale du Compagnonnage," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 33 (1955): 324; Office du Travail, *Les Associations*, 2: 134–41.

[45] "Revue industrielle," *Le Populaire*, Oct. 9, 1842.

[46] Pedron, Cabet's *correspondant* at Nantes, reported significant progress in 1844 but was distressed that so many converts could not afford to subscribe to *Le Populaire*. See *Le Populaire*, July 12, 1844.

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the "organ of the workers" and that it had more readers than *La Réforme*. With its ninety-four subscribers as of August 1846, the Nantes group was the fourth largest in France and, in a city of 94,000 people, was proportionally on a par with Reims and Vienne as a center of influence. *Le Breton* estimated Cabet's following to be six hundred; "communism" it said, "is in the air." Icarian influence radiated from Nantes to Rennes and Tours and south to Niort, Angoulême, and Périgueux. Paul Guay, the *correspondant* at Niort, was an especially active local propagandist and appears to have borne the message to Luçon, Saint-Maxient, Fontenay, and Châtellerault. In Niort itself it was said that "most of the workers of the city . . . are imbued with the ideas of communism." Nantais Icarians were linked with brethren in Angoulême, and there were contacts between Périgueux and the *chefs-lieux* of both Charente and Deux-Sèvres.[47]

Unlike Paris or Lyon, Reims or Vienne, there is little to indicate that basic economic change had much to do with the rise of Icarianism in this area, with the possible exception of the declining leather-goods center of Niort. Instead, previous "union" organization and its repression by the government and the preoccupation of the judiciary and ministry of the interior with the threat of legitimism in the west need emphasis. While modern industry developed fitfully in Nantes itself in the 1830s and 1840s (by 1847 there were twenty-seven mechanical spinning mills employing 1,614 workers), and while certain advances took place in such older industries as shipbuilding, metallurgy, sugar refining, and distilling, Icarian occupations—almost wholly traditional crafts—seem to have changed little in the course of the July Monarchy. But these crafts were noted, both in the early thirties and the late forties, for the significant poverty among their journeymen.[48] Except perhaps for Tours and Niort, the other towns of importance in the west were almost untouched by industrial change, maintaining their traditional role as centers of exchange for regional products. Périgueux was typical. Its major economic improvement during the July Monarchy was the construction of a new road that facilitated departmental commerce. Nail making by hand served a fairly wide market, but it did not employ many men. The few entrepreneurs who attempted to create large units of production failed. In general, "the ambitions of commerce were

[47] See *L'Atelier*, Aug. 1844; *Le Populaire*, Nov. 1844; E. B. LeBent, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution de 1848 dans les départements," Archief Cabet, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (hereafter IISG) (LeBent was a Nantais friend of Ange Guépin); *Le Breton*, Oct. 25, 1846; and Procureur général de Poitiers to the Garde des Sceaux, Apr. 2, 1845, AN BB[18] 1428 dos. 9580. See, on Guay's regional activities, *ibid.*, Apr. 3, 1845, BB[18] 1451 dos. 3524 (Mar. 5, 1847), and M. Faucheux and L. Morcauzeux, "Les Débuts du communisme en Vendée: l'affaire Madeline," *Etudes: Bibliothèque de la Révolution de 1848*, 15 (1953): 79. One hundred and twenty-four Niort Icarians signed an "adresse d'adhesion" printed in *Le Populaire*, Nov. 22, 1845. The police found correspondence from Angoulême to Nantes that made them consider fleetingly the possibility of prosecution for secret society activity. Procureur général de Rennes to the Garde des Sceaux, Dec. 24, 1847, AN, BB[18] 1441 dos. 1992.

[48] See Ange Guépin, *Nantes au XIX^e siècle* (Nantes, 1835), 481–90; and Georges Creveuil, "La Condition ouvrière et la crise de 1847 à Nantes," *1848 et les révolutions du dix-neuvième siècle*, 24 (1948), 39–61.

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limited to the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the city population and of the large clientele of the countryside. Pots and pans, agricultural tools, grain and seed, clothing, shoes—these were above all what were sold on the market." About the only factor with material implications that changed significantly was population: between 1800 and 1860 Périgueux grew from 5,733 to 14,778 people.[49] Urban demographic increase was significant elsewhere in the west—and at Toulouse as well—and appears to have resulted from structural change in rural areas; its effect in the towns was to overburden the more easily accessible craft industries such as weaving and needlework.[50] Overcrowding notwithstanding, it is difficult to find important material pressures that played a larger part in the west during the 1840s than previously.

On the other hand, these towns witnessed one of the most important early movements of working-class association in France. And, of great significance for our purposes, this movement was organized and developed by journeyman tailors. The Société philanthropique des ouvriers tailleurs, created in Nantes in October 1833, encouraged branches at Tours, Rennes, Bordeaux, and other larger cities of the west and even developed links with Marseille and Toulon. But its key centers were Nantes and Niort. While most such organizations were broken up by the policy of resistance in 1834, this one lived on secretly until 1839. The principal focus was upon practical trade unionism: aid to the aged and infirm, death benefits, and strike activities, often supported by funds from branches in other cities. It also thought of itself as a "model for future races" in the "achievement of universal fraternity," since it sought the ultimate association of all workers, beginning at the local level. It was explicitly republican, and the authorities even suspected that it aimed at socialist revolution.[51] There is a striking similarity between the foci and extent of the Philanthropic Society and of the Icarian movement in the west. In Nantes, twenty of the eighty-eight Icarians whose occupations are known were tailors, including Pedron, the local leader. It seems possible that after the thorough suppression of the Philanthropic Society in 1838–39, these politically aware tailors, now disillusioned with economic action and secrecy, rallied to nonrevolutionary communist politics and utilized their lines of contact to spread the doctrine.

It is curious that Icarianism, harassed by the authorities from its inception almost everywhere else, was not even investigated in the west until 1847. Perhaps it was simply not taken seriously, since the government thought, quite rightly, that the great danger in this area came from the potentially legitimist countryside. Even in the towns, the emergence of communist groups was not viewed with great alarm. For instance, the pro-

[49] Gerard Lavergne, *Histoire de Périgueux* (Périgueux, 1945), 142–43.

[50] On this problem see, for example, Jean Coppolani, *Toulouse: Etude de géographie urbaine* (Toulouse, 1954), 111–33.

[51] Octave Festy, "Dix années de l'histoire corporative des ouvriers tailleurs d'habits (1830–1840)," *Revue d'histoire des doctrines économiques et sociales*, 5 (1912): 166–99.

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cureur général of Poitiers was confident (mistakenly so) "that in the city of Luçon the doctrines of communism are generally rejected by the good sense of the population, that they have no future there."[52] Thus, the combination of a relaxed official attitude toward communism with the repression of effective and widespread trade unionism among tailors may have been significant in the emergence of Icarian communism in the west of France.

The experience of the tailors in the west typifies a larger process. The possibilities of economic action were significantly reduced throughout much of France in the 1840s. The great strike movement of 1840 in Paris, which served as a model for other cities as well (including Toulouse), was put down without ceremony, and a period of heavy surveillance of *sociétés de secours mutuels* and cooperatives, both formally legal, was initiated.[53] More than this, however, heavy union activity normally corresponds with relative ecomonic prosperity, and the 1840s, for the majority of French workers, were lean years. It follows naturally that solutions would be sought through political change. Cabet himself emphasized both government resistance and economic conjuncture in condemning unionism and cooperation in his important pamphlet, *L'Ouvrier*.[54] While such a position would tend to feather his own ideological nest, it was nevertheless in tune with reality and could not help but appeal.

At Vienne and Reims technological change was important for the growth of the Icarian movement. Still, in Reims at least, the development of mechanical industry was curiously abnormal, and in both centers Icarian doctrine seems to have found few adherents among new factory hands.

In proportion to a total population of 14,000, the Viennois Icarian movement was the largest in France. Fernand Rude, in his detailed study of Vienne during the forties, states that while Babouvism and Fourierism had some impact in the city, it was "above all Icarian communism" that dominated the flow of social thought. The leader of the Icarian group at Vienne was Vincent Cöeffé, a shoe-form maker. A Lyonnais convert of 1840, he moved south two years later and, at the age of fifty-two, became the chief propagator of the doctrine in Vienne and its region.[55]

Economic conditions during the 1840s aided him in his task. The major industries in Vienne were woolens and metallurgy. Both were located in the narrow gorge of the Gère, where some eighty hydraulic machines provided much of the power. The *draperie* employed 1,514 male workers, 1,890 women, and 1,220 children in 316 workshops—about two-thirds of the

[52] Report of Dec. 24, 1846, AN, BB[18] 1441 dos. 1992. On the fear of legitimism, see reports of Apr. 3, 5, 1845, BB[18] 1428 dos. 9580.

[53] J.-P. Aguet, *Les Grèves sous la Monarchie de Juillet* (Geneva, 1954), 193–97.

[54] *L'Ouvrier: ses misères actuelles, leur cause et leur remède; son futur bonheur dans la Communauté; moyens de l'établir* (Paris, June 1844).

[55] Rude, "L'Arrondissement de Vienne," 237–38; *Le Populaire*, July 26, 1846; Fernand Rude, "Introduction," *Voyage en Icarie: deux ouvriers viennois aux Etats-unis en 1855* (Paris, 1952), 20.

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working-class population in 1847. Spinning was almost completely mechanized by 1840, and the average number of spindles per mule-jenny increased dramatically over the next eight years. This no doubt affected employment conditions, but the key change during these years was the general introduction of mechanical carding, shearing, and teasing devices. Luddism and other manifestations of discontent over this technological revolution were endemic. The situation of the weaver changed also. Although power looms were not introduced until 1861, the first Jacquards appeared in 1833 and "after 1840, they were increasingly used." This advance injured the fortunes of poorer weavers operating the old one-man loom. The typical Vienne weaver was a proletarian, working in a large workshop. Wages in the woolen industry were low, though fairly stable, during the July Monarchy. Male spinners were the best paid, making about 2 fr. 20 per day, but weavers, carders, and shearers collected less than two francs. A married man was hard pressed to stay above water unless his wife and children were employed.[56]

Although we know the occupations of only a handful of Icarian Viennois, two were involved in the woolen industry. Gagnière, a weaver, would be a prominent working-class leader in 1848. It may be assumed that he and Boussu, a carder, had many fellow Icarians in their trade. Rude stresses that working-class consciousness developed rapidly at Vienne after 1840. Strikes and the growth of mutual societies and cooperatives paralleled an increasing political awareness. Beneath this activity ran a spirit of solidarity forged in part by traditions of conviviality and fraternity. *La vie populaire* centered in the cafés, and Viennois workers were well known for their love of song and poetry.[57] Icarianism no doubt benefited from and strengthened these elements of the working-class mentality at Vienne.

If Lyon, Nantes, and Vienne should be ranked as the first Icarian cities of provincial France, Reims was not far behind. It was one of the first towns affected by the propaganda of Charles Chameroy; by 1846 the *Revue de Reims* claimed that "the working class is Icarian communist, not Fourierist." Leon Faucher, at the time deputy from Reims, was quoted in a five-column attack on communism in the powerful Catholic *Journal,* saying that the growing influence of communism should be well understood by the "bourgeoisie . . . if they do not want to lose their power." In 1847 the same paper estimated that Icarianism had twelve to fifteen hundred adherents among "the poorest workers." There were fifty-four subscribers to *Le Populaire* by that time, and 443 Rémois Icarians signed a protest against Cabet's arrest at the end of the year.[58]

Nine of the twenty-three signatories of the first address of adhesion from

[56] Rude, "L'Arrondissement de Vienne," 216, 219–26, 232; Pierre Léon, *La Naissance de la grande industrie en Dauphiné* (Paris, 1954), 2: 502–04, 506, 751.

[57] Rude, "L'Arrondissement de Vienne," 398, 221, 232–35.

[58] Prudhommeaux, "Un Commis-voyageur," 165; *Revue de Reims,* Feb. 1846; *Journal de Reims,* July 31, 1846, Dec. 4, 1847; Cabet, *Notre procès en escroquerie* (Paris, 1848), 29.

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Reims were employed in the woolen industry.[59] This city was the principal woolen manufactory in France, and its output increased rapidly during the July Monarchy. The worker complement in the industry dwarfed that of Vienne, in 1846 numbering some 15,000 out of a total population of 44,000.[60] The Rémois woolen *fabrique* was not nearly so streamlined as that of Vienne; one reason Vienne made the transition to mechanized production with such relative ease was the rapid current of the Gère. In Reims, however, the mechanization of spinning necessitated the use of steam power, and, although some steam spinning mills were built in the city or its suburbs, the main development was the rise of hydraulic mule-jenny spinning in villages outside Reims near fast-flowing streams, especially the Suippe and the Vesle. This change, coming rapidly in the thirties and forties, set off a chain reaction that ultimately made the weaver's lot in Reims a harsh one. There was an immediate demand for unskilled labor in the small communes. The peasants who formerly provided much of the thread for Reims were unwilling to seek factory employment; hence there was a large influx of cheap Belgian and German labor. But these out-workers in the countryside still needed the extra money, and many of them switched to weaving heavy cloth, the traditional staple of Reims itself. Since the peasant weavers, working only part time, were willing to accept lower wages than the Rémois hand-loom men, the latter faced a grave peril. Simultaneously, however, the Jacquard loom came to Reims, making it a great center for production of the fine, patterned product of the Jacquard revolution.[61] Numerous Rémois weavers were caught in the middle, and one can hypothesize that many of them flocked to the Icarian banner. Mechanization in the countryside was also injuring the hand spinners, combers, carders, sorters, and shearers of Reims. In general, as the industrial revolution began to take its toll, wages fell across the board. (Interestingly enough, however, the creation of a factory town, like Manchester, is not in question here.) In all areas of woolen production daily wages declined drastically during the July Monarchy, though Jacquard-loom operators and spinners fared relatively better than hand-loom weavers.[62]

The major industry in Reims, although progressing by standards of economic growth, was thus going through a transition of great magnitude that was producing undeniable hardships for the workers. Moreover, tailors were facing the familiar problem of ready-made goods. Theirs was one of the most plaintive cries in 1848 as they damned "the competition of the *confec-*

[59] *Le Populaire,* Nov. 1844.

[60] Marc Vincent, "La Situation économique et la condition des travailleurs dans le département de la Marne d'après l'enquête de 1848 sur le travail agricole et industriel," *Le Département de la Marne et la Révolution de 1848* (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1948), 92–93; René Chéramy, "L'Année 1848 dans le département de la Marne" (diplôme d'études supérieures, 1946), 6. A copy of this manuscript is located in the Bibliothèque municipale de Châlons-sur-Marne, MS 1511.

[61] Vincent, "La Situation économique," 93–95.

[62] See the table in Georges Boussinesq, "Reims à la fin de la Monarchie de Juillet et pendant la période révolutionnaire de 1848," *La Révolution de 1848,* 19 (1922–23): 231.

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tionneurs who, having much capital, impose very onerous conditions of work on their workers who, being without resources, are obliged to submit to them."[63] All in all, a strong case can be made for the advance of sheer misery as the basis for Icarian adherence in Reims—much more so, certainly, than in Lyon or even in Vienne.

These examples of the various problems and stimuli agitating the major trades and locales in which Icarian communism found adherents suffice to give a flavor of the impersonal forces underlying the growth of the movement before 1848. The diversity of factors is such that generalization is difficult. In Lyon relative stagnation in a traditionally organized industry and a high level of working-class consciousness appear to be the most significant variables; in Paris and among needleworkers, shoemakers, and cabinetmakers generally, *confection* and overcrowding stand out; in the west longstanding poverty, experience in union organization, and government policy in a largely unindustrialized setting were key factors; and in the woolen towns of Vienne and Reims, the rise of modern, but by no means the most technologically advanced industry provided the root conditions. This discussion, centering largely upon objective factors, is explanatory only to the extent that indirect correlation is acceptable. Let us now turn to the more direct evidence concerning the bases of Icarian adherence.

ANY SOCIAL MOVEMENT consists of a symbiotic relationship between the leader and the led. Although most historical studies tend to give too much exposure to the former and too little to the latter, to deny the importance of leadership altogether would be incorrect. To do so in the case of Cabet, a man of iron will and incredible energy, is totally unrealistic. Étienne Cabet—a "busy mole" George Lichtheim has recently called him[64]—worked with nearly superhuman zeal to propagate his doctrine. During the 1840s he wrote and published forty brochures, many over one hundred pages in length; edited a monthly newspaper and a yearly almanac; produced two major books (*Douze lettres d'un communiste à un réformiste sur la Communauté* and *Le vrai Christianisme*); brought out four new editions of *Voyage en Icarie,* two each of his multivolume *Histoire populaire de la Révolution française* and of the *Douze lettres,* and many new editions of several important brochures; followed the press closely in search of praise and criticism of himself and the doctrine; carried on a massive correspondence the mere remnants of which still make up sizable dossiers; instructed propagandists and sent them out into Paris and the departments; developed his influence internationally through correspondence and cooperation in the translation of his more important works into English, German, Dutch, Swedish, and Spanish; and personally organized and developed the struc-

[63] Vincent, "La Situation économique," 92.
[64] *The Origins of Socialism* (New York, 1969), 68.

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ture of the movement, work that often included tiring journeys to various centers of Icarian strength. All of this was accomplished with very little assistance: Cabet wrote most of the material of *Le Populaire* himself (his balky style is unmistakable), and all extant draft letters and marginal comments on letters he received are in his hand. After touchy experiences with Richard Lahautière and Théodore Dézamy in 1841–42, he refused to accept much aid from other intellectuals, with the exception of Hermann Ewerbeck and Louis Krolikowski.[65]

Cabet's propaganda methods contributed significantly to the success of the movement. The foundation of his technique was outlined with disarming frankness in *Le Populaire* on July 13, 1845.

> In general, the worker lacks the primary instruction to read fruitfully. Moreover, he has little time to give to reading. To give him too much to read rapidly is to throw his mind into confusion and chaos. . . . It is better to give him only a small number of simple, clear, and essential books and to study them well in order to understand them. . . . Let us first make many communists with a small number of essential ideas; all delicate questions will be discussed and decided upon in common later on.

This emphasis on simplicity and clarity found its most perfect realization in the format and nature of Cabet's chief propaganda instrument, *Le Populaire*. His monthly newspaper was four pages in length, with an occasional supplement. Its pages and print were larger than those of any other doctrinal popular newspaper of the day. Rarely did Cabet print an article longer than two columns. Simple declarative sentences predominated, and generous use was made of exclamation points. Frequent subtitling, imaginative layouts, quality printing, and varied type added attractiveness to simplicity. These physical features should not be underestimated. *L'Atelier* and *La Fraternité de 1845*, the two most important competitive working-class papers of the era, looked like learned journals by comparison—of less than folio size, their print was small and tightly packed, and their articles were often of considerable length. The circulation of both was small, and their readers were largely intellectuals and bourgeois democrats. Content as well as format contributed to this situation. Armand Cuvillier explained *L'Atelier*'s failure to recruit working-class readers this way:

> It had against it the gravity and the dryness of the logic of its articles, the moderation of its language which even gave a pale color to its boldest affirmations, its opposition to extreme theories, its care to exaggerate neither the faults of its adversaries nor the merits of its friends, the insistence with which it emphasized the moral conditions and the practical difficulties of the emancipation of the workers, and finally its doctrinal inflexibility and its Catholic tendencies.[66]

[65] On Cabet's foreign influence and the translations see Johnson, Dissertation, 352–74. On the rest, see *ibid.*, 287–300.

[66] Cuvillier, *L'Atelier*, 177–78.

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And Martin Nadaud was dissatisfied with *La Fraternité* because it "treated social questions from a point of view so elevated that only the best educated workers would read it."[67]

Not so with *Le Populaire*. The principal sections of the paper were normally four in number: a "partie politique" in which current political issues, both domestic and foreign, were seen through Icarian eyes; a "partie sociale" that reported and commented on police repression, strikes, trials of the press and of secret societies, and especially conditions of life among the poor; discussions of the growth and the problems of the movement; and letters and declarations from adherents and critics. Although from time to time Cabet had some incisive things to say about the social structure and the broad problems of the working class, generalizations were kept to a minimum. His basic technique was to recount hundreds of specific incidents of working-class oppression, stories of murders and accidents, of starving children and fallen women, of moral decay among the upper classes, of the hardships of competition among businessmen, of political scandals. Always tinged with sensationalism, these tales of misery represented some of Cabet's best propaganda. Workers recognized situations that they themselves had experienced and saw clear truths about the outward realities of their society. *L'Atelier's* analyses of "industrial privilege," its complex arguments in favor of cooperation, and *La Fraternité's* philosophical dissertations could hardly hold the same interest. Cabet would always conclude that the blanket solution to this social disorder and malaise was "to proclaim with us the sacred principle of *association solidaire.*" "None of this in Icaria!" In an instant all problems, psychological and otherwise, could be wiped out simply by changing the social organization, by replacing the reign of self-interest with that of the common interest.

Cabet completed his technique with expert sloganeering. "Communism is Christianity in its original purity" came to be the most famous of his slogans, but such phrases as "Communauté is unity" or "Communism is morality" abound. He always attempted to boil down any discussion of his principles to a simple concluding summary or a striking headline. As new terms became popular in the republican and working-class milieux, he quickly incorporated them into his rhetoric.[68] Fernand Rude has underlined the modernity of Cabet's propaganda methods: "By the importance he attaches to a multiform and tireless propaganda, Cabet again heralds our times when one standardizes opinion with *coups de slogans,* when one makes great efforts to make men think *en série,* and when one practices as a matter of course what is called 'le viole des foules par propagande politique.' "[69] Whether or not it is legitimate to view Cabet as a protototalitarian, there can be little doubt that his techniques as a propagandist were innovative and effective.

[67] *Mémoires de Léonard,* 171.
[68] See especially *Le Populaire,* Oct. 1844.
[69] Rude, "Introduction," *Voyage en Icarie,* 17.

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In one respect, however, the foregoing analysis reveals an inherent danger that, although not uncommon in any social movement, cries out for comment here. Cabet's explanation of the miseries of society is monocausal, and his solution, though richly textured with detailed proposals, is millenarian. Private property is the cause, and its elimination, *ipso facto,* will create the New Jerusalem. Such a position is a highly effective means of mobilizing large masses of people, but twentieth-century experience has shown that its proponents may well be monomaniacal (in the clinical sense) and willing to carry through the most heinous of crimes against humanity in its name.[70] Marx, Proudhon, Buchez, and several other writers of the day were concerned about this trait in Cabet, as were several of his more sophisticated adherents.[71]

But neither the leader's energy nor his methodology would have made much difference had they not found a receptive audience. What did Icarians say about themselves, their society, and the factors that brought them to communism? That we have any information at all of this order is an unusual blessing. The workingman leaves few traces of his opinions and attitudes, and one method of getting at the working-class mind—the use of police records—is largely closed to us in this case, since few Icarians were arrested.[72] We must rely heavily, therefore, on the communications sent to Cabet. A number of the extant manuscript letters Cabet received cause us to realize the immense effort required of many a worker to write at all, let alone to express himself in a meaningful fashion. The handwriting was often strained, grammar and spelling were incorrect, and punctuation was sometimes nonexistent. Cabet, if he printed the letters, would usually correct the punctuation and orthography, but occasionally he printed one as he received it—not in order to embarrass the sender, but to capture more faithfully the voice of the common worker who had come to communism.

One should therefore not normally expect sophisticated phraseology or analysis to spring from the pens of Icarian communists. Yet most were aware of their oppressed condition, and most saw in Cabet's doctrine the true road to happiness. The following letter from J——, a twenty-nine-year-old Parisian woodworker in the carriage trade, typifies hundreds of communications sent to Cabet.

Citizens, Paris 27 September 1841

Excuse me if I take the liberty to write you. I have seen with pleasure that you take an interest in the people, principally in the uneducated worker who has good ideas but who cannot express them owing to his ignorance. I am of this number and I want to instruct myself in the ways of *la communauté.* Yes, citizen, I am a

[70] These comments are in part suggested by Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York, 1966), 290–91.

[71] For this concern among Cabet's adherents see Johnson, "Deux lettres," *passim.*

[72] In any case see Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest 1789–1820* (London, 1970), 3–57, for a discussion of the relative value of police evidence and informers' reports from earlier years.

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communist because I want the well-being of my brothers, I am a communist because I have no other ambition than to do good. In my mind *la communauté* is the finest thing that could exist. With it, pride, ambition, avarice, tyranny will fall; without *une communauté* the people will always be cast into the abyss into which they are plunged every day; without *la communauté* no happiness for the people. To have this moral *communauté,* education is necessary for us, children of the people; *eh bien,* citizen, it is to you that I address myself for my eduation; as you see I still do not have much education.[73]

Several general themes emerge from Icarian correspondence. Most mention workers' misery and exploitation, but only a minority reveal a full consciousness of the power of a united working class. The latter were usually written during the years 1845–46, indicating a possible trend in this direction.

In 1842 "a worker in another large city" hoped that *Le Populaire* would become a weekly because

> it could give the PARIAHS of the social order the advice they need; we would also have a greater chance to say a few words about our situation, we who are at the mercy of the *exploiters* in a city where mercantile egotism is carried to the highest point. While there will always be some work available here, the *bad organization of labor,* coupled with the hardheartedness of the monopolizers, will always cause the worker . . . to go to die in the poor-house if a Social Reform does not occur, . . . if the rich refuse to hear the voice of humanity.

Said Louis Mauvais of Reims: in comparison to the *patrons* of today, "the slaveholders [in the colonies] are philanthropic friends of humanity, for at least they nourish their slaves. Oh Christ, is it for such results that you died on the cross!!"[74] A greater sophistication is to be found later on; experience and propaganda led to a firmer resolve. A letter from Annonay early in 1846 echoed Sieyès: "The worker realizes that he ought to be something, he who is the force and wealth of the nation." Nineteen Rouennais supported Icarianism because it promoted their just claims on society. They had to speak out "when each day is marked by a violation of our rights, when all our relations, whether with our masters or with public functionaries, are acts of authority that wound our dignity." And who can doubt the power of a united working class? In the opinion of a group of Parisian Icarians, should a class "struggle" occur, "the bourgeoisie, *égoïste,* cunning in trade [but] contributing nothing to the production of its wealth, would not even try to fight against the strong arms of the producers."[75]

Such comments, however, are less in evidence than is the simple vision of a peaceful, untroubled, and prosperous life to be had in Icaria, without concern for the complexities of current society or the potential problems of Cabet's utopia. "*La Communauté* unites within it everything that man could desire in order to make the Golden Age live once more, to make a veritable

[73] *Le Populaire* (Supplement), Oct. 10, 1841.

[74] *Le Populaire,* May 8, June 5, 1842. Cabet later wrote an article expanding the last point and was attacked for being in favor of slavery!

[75] *Ibid.,* Jan. 24, May 29, 1846; Nov. 22, 1845.

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paradise," said a young female Icarian in Lyon. Several followers in Toulouse thought Icaria was a real place and wanted to know how to get there. Others saw the doctrine as a kind of "balm" or "consolation" akin to a fairy tale or romance. It also made "new men" out of some affiliates. A draftsman wrote that he had "cursed my social position and the entire society," seeing only gold as the road to happiness. He was "not really alive." But Cabet's writing "cast a healing balm on my senses . . . by showing me the cause of the evils of which I only saw the effects."[76] The therapeutic effect of Cabet's doctrine cannot be doubted, but it involved a clear danger—that the "balm" of the Icarian dream might undermine the resolve to create it in reality. Shortly before her death, Flora Tristan labeled Cabet an *endormeur,* claiming that he entrapped his followers in a fantasy world, while the real purpose of working-class agitation was to consolidate resistance against the capitalist regime. Although there was no love lost between Tristan and Cabet, her statement had some basis in fact.[77]

Some workers became Icarians after a comparison of several "systems" or at least through a genuine intellectual effort. The *Voyage en Icarie* was normally the work that finally brought such people to communism. This is an interesting phenomenon, because it shows that there existed a kind of market place of socialist ideas from which some workers rationally chose the most appealing wares. Although we are familiar with several instances of this order, the letter of A. Barbier, a woodworker in the building trades, presents a fascinating intellectual biography of a thoughtful workingman. He arrived penniless in Paris at the age of fourteen but was lucky enough to find a master who taught him his trade and sent him to a Protestant school, where he learned "to love others as I would have them love me." He originally learned of communism from a "worker who seemed to meditate often on the life of man." Barbier thus came to realize some basic contradictions: "Why here the rich, overflowing with the pleasure of the glittering life and all the gifts of nature, and there the unhappy poor, denied all wealth, crouching in the corner . . . humiliating themselves by supplying these *opulents* with the wherewithal of their existence? Why this difference between beings of the same nature and capable of the same intelligence?" These preliminary thoughts were given fuel by the heartlessness of most masters and by wages that were becoming "more and more insufficient because of the large number of workers who, out of need, work at any price." Then Barbier discovered Cabet and the *Voyage en Icarie.* It was as if a "new dawn" had broken, for it gave direction to his vague ideas. He was originally steeped in Saint-Simonism but rejected it for Icarianism.[78] Frédéric Olinet, eventu-

[76] See, for the last, *ibid.,* Oct. 10, 1841. For some of the many examples of this attitude, see also the issues of Sept. 3, 1841, Oct. 9, 1842, Mar. 9, 1843, and Jan. and Feb. 1845 (Supplement).

[77] In her personal journal, she said: "M. Cabet has done much harm to the workers. He has paralyzed all desire for action in them; today the workers see only the reign of Icaria—resting there, fascinated, before this vision. They wait instead of working actively to prepare this happy reign." Quoted in Jules Puech, *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan* (Paris, 1925), 140 n.2.

[78] Barbier to Cabet, Nov. 2, 1847, Papiers Cabet, BHVP. For other examples see Cabet,

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ally a participant in the American colonization, remarked in his memoirs that in Lyon three writers, Leroux, Proudhon, and Cabet, were the dominant influences among the "partisans of socialism." But "the doctrines of the last, clearly defined in the *Voyage en Icarie,* exerted a different kind of enticement on them than the vague ideas of the other two masters, from whom they derived no image that could be easily grasped." Sébastien Commissaire, the Lyonnais silkworker who became a representative from Strasbourg in 1849, recalled his Icarian days in the mid-forties, stressing the impact of the *Voyage en Icarie:*

> This book, written in a simple style, in a way that it could be understood by any intellect, had found numerous admirers in the working class. It was a plan of social organization and in order to make it understood, M. Cabet had imagined a society organized *en communauté,* living in an imaginary country to which he had given the name Icaria.

The perfection of this new society had an overpowering effect on his working-class readers. "It was more than was needed to capture the imagination of the poor workers who suffered, who were uneasy about their future and that of their children, and who saw no possibility of bettering their lot."[79]

What specific facets of Cabet's doctrine had the greatest appeal? First of all, his pacifism, legalism, and emphasis on *courage civil* drew many workers into the movement. Nearly all the *adresses* printed in *Le Populaire* and in Cabet's brochures stress the belief in pacific means. The earliest development of the movement was in part a response by already radical workers to the evident fruitlessness of conspiratorial secret societies and their blanket suppression during the years 1839 to 1841.[80] Following Cabet, a communist could disassociate himself from the stigma of violence and bloodshed. Although police suspicion required that allusions be left vague, on several occasions in *Toute la vérité au Peuple* (1842) and *Les Masques arrachés* (1844), Cabet mentioned men who had followed such a route without naming them. In Tours Cabet's writings of 1841–42 won over many who formerly wanted revolution. The clearest statement of the move away from secret societies and its significance was made by a woman in Lyon with whom Cabet spoke in 1845. He reconstructed their conversation in the

Toute la vérité (Paris, 1842), 42; Cabet, *Utile et franche explication aux Lyonnais* (Paris, 1842), 26–27; Sordaliet to Cabet, Nov. 27, 1845, BHVP; *Le Populaire,* June 6, 13, 1847.

[79] Frédéric Olinet [Job], *Voyage d'un Autunois en Icarie* (Autun, 1898), 18; Commissaire, *Mémoires,* 1: 96–97.

[80] For documentation of this drive, see "Associations illicites poursuivies depuis 1er janvier 1841," AN, BB18 1472 dos. 6733. Even "communist" (though not reformist) banquets were invaded by the police (Archives de la Prefecture de Police, Paris, A/a 426). The "war to the death against the press" led to the direct suppression of many radical newspapers, including Théodore Dézamy's *Égalitaire* and the communist *Le Travail* of Lyon, and to the prosecution for illegal utterances of a host of others, ranging from the *Courrier de Théatres* to *Le Populaire* itself. The great Parisian strike movement of August–September 1840 was ruthlessly put down and its positive fruits were quite insignificant. (See Octave Festy, "Le mouvement ouvrier à Paris en 1840," *Revue des sciences politiques,* 30 [1913]: 266–97; and J.-P. Aguet, *Les Grèves,* 194–225.) Icarian pacificism clearly came upon the scene at the proper moment.

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Almanach for 1846. The question actually asked was why so many women were devoted Icarians.

> It is very simple; before Icarian Communism appeared, our husbands were nearly all in secret societies, . . . neglecting their work, spending all their money, always uneasy and upset, often arrested and prosecuted; and we were always abandoned, always in misery and anxiety. Since Icarian Communism, on the contrary, everything has changed; our husbands have renounced secret societies, and we no longer fear those dreadful *visites domiciliaires,* those terrible arrests, that ruined us in the past; they take us with them to their meetings with their friends to discuss things; the women thus find themselves meeting together along with their husbands and their children.[81]

Furthermore, Cabet was influential in bringing most of the French and German communist exiles in London to a tactical position that stressed the use of pacific propaganda to build a mass movement. Proclaiming the concept of *courage civil,* the German refugees Karl Schapper and Joseph Moll and their friends in the *Arbeitersbildungsverein* said: "Citizen, we have understood that it was necessary, above all, to be men." The way of secret societies and violence leads to nothing. History teaches that revolution turns to the ends of the ambitious; the "great revolution of the nineteenth century" will have to be in the mind. They then declared—although one should be wary of giving too much credence to it—their "entire adherence to the Icarian doctrine." As for the recent French exiles of the Blanqui coup, they had rejected secret societies and the extremism of *L'Humanitaire* as early as the autumn of 1841.[82] We also know of three specific cases of the shift from secret societies to Cabet. Eugène Butot, Cabet's lieutenant at Reims, had been in several such groups in Paris during the 1830s. Adolphe Gouhenant of Toulouse was involved in the agitation developing out of the census crisis there in 1841 and was later in correspondence with a known agent of the secret *charbonnerie réformée* in Lyon. Finally, Sébastien Commissaire tells us quite frankly in his memoirs that he was converted to Icarian communism after having been connected with conspiratorial groups in Lyon.[83]

In the well-chosen term, *courage civil,* Cabet provided the militant with a manly alternative to violence and conspiracy. One of his key pamphlets, *Guide du citoyen aux prises avec la Police et la Justice* (April 1842), outlined the rights of an arrestee and advised Icarians to stand on their own two feet, to speak for what they believed in, both while at liberty and to the police themselves. On the broader level, the communist worker, no longer the man of the knife and the bomb, was given this advice: "Force your adversar-

[81] *Le Populaire,* Nov. 13, 1842; *Almanach icarien pour 1846.*

[82] "Plusieurs communistes allemands à Londres au Citoyen Cabet," Aug. 23, 1843, Archief Cabet, IISG, printed, with an introduction by Arthur Lehning, in the *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History,* 7 (1952): 87–109; communication from the *Société démocratique à Londres* to *Le Populaire,* Oct. 10, 1841.

[83] Commissaire, *Mémoires,* 1: 76.

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ies to respect you, to listen to you, to become your brothers . . . by your conduct, by your morality, by your justice, by giving the example of fraternity yourself. Teach yourself the habit of *civil courage,* more difficult, more rare, and often more useful than militant courage."[84]

Another important factor in the adherence of some Icarians was Cabet's long-time reputation as a defender of the working-class cause. Several remembered his role as editor of the republican weekly, *Le Populaire de 1833;* in 1847, one correspondent called him the "oldest veteran of French democracy."[85] The most interesting comments on this score were made by Dubeau, a Parisian cabinetmaker living in the Marais.

> I have followed your steps in the progress of socialism for quite a long time. . . . You were my guide in 1834. I read all your pamphlets; I followed you to the Chamber to defend our sister, Poland; my heart grieved to see you seated upon the bench of the accused, and I saw your calm bearing on hearing the sentence which pronounced the infamous penality; . . . I have thought about you in exile, writing the social document that will give the world an earthly paradise.

He went on to say that in his mind only two men, Cabet and Raspail, were worthy of the love of the workingman, the latter because he cures the body and Cabet because he is "the doctor who cures the soul." He had now (that is, in 1847) decided to join the Icarian emigration and closed his letter: "Glory and Peace to you, my Father."[86]

But the element of Cabet's doctrine that found the greatest response among Icarian converts was his equation of communism and Christianity. Numerous letters agreed with the worker from Méric, who testified before the procureur du roi: ". . . certainly you know that Jesus Christ identified with the poor. . . . Jesus Christ was a communist; our communism is the same thing as Christianity in its purity." Many spoke of the "holy doctrine" and of Cabet as the "apostle of communism." Although we shall return to the whole question of the Christian impulse in Icarianism when discussing the growing sectarian nature of the movement, one point should be noted here. While numerous workingmen were convinced by the Christian-communist link, this emphasis was responsible for the adherence of nearly all Cabet's bourgeois followers. Dr. Desmoulins of Tours, the former merchant Laty of Autun, Finet, an Angoulême merchant, Dr. Rabyrin, a teacher from Lyon, Charles Chameroy, a traveling salesman, the journalist Adolphe Elléna of Toulon, and many other middle-class *importants* in the movement were very impressed with the Christian thrust of Cabet's message. The group of Icarians at Nancy was strongly influenced by Chameroy's propaganda and had a heavy bourgeois representation. It is no accident that the forty-one Nanciens ("many of whom are *fabricants*") who declared their support in January 1846 stated that the major reason for their affiliation was because com-

[84] Cabet, *Guide du citoyen,* 28–29; *Le Populaire,* May 20, 1841.
[85] *Le Populaire,* May 20, 1841.
[86] Dubeau to Cabet, July 26, 1847, Papiers Cabet, XII, BHVP.

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munism was the "doctrine of Christ." The best expression of the significance of the Christian-communist equation in bringing about bourgeois adherence was made by a *commis-négociant* from Toulouse:

> Enemies [say] that our doctrines suit only men without wealth and without social position, as if a man, simply because he possesses much, were incapable of having a heart which is generous, compassionate, and susceptible to sentiments of justice and humanity toward his brothers!
>
> Do they not know, these enemies of the truth, that communism is nothing but Christianity returned to its primitve purity? . . . that Christianity is the . . . precept, and communism the immediate consequence, that is to say, the practice, of this . . . precept? And that a faith without works is a dead faith . . . ? Thus one cannot really be a Christian without being a communist. . . .
>
> [In reading communist thought] I found myself face to face with the principles that had lulled me in my youth, that is, with that great and sublime doctrine that Christ had confirmed with his blood.

And despite Cabet's blatant anticlericalism, he even won over a priest who promised to proselytize within his "social class."[87] We have no idea of his success. By and large, however, priests were ardent opponents of communism, especially after Pope Pius IX specifically condemned the doctrine in 1846.[88]

Finally, there was Cabet's special message to women.[89] A good many individual women wrote of their support. Of the 2,135 people who signed addresses condemning the arrest of Cabet late in 1847, 390, or 18.3 per cent, were female.[90] Some of his female correspondents saw *La Femme* (1842) as the central aspect of his entire message. A schoolteacher from a "town in the Alps" felt that the sex equality preached by Cabet was the way to the "salvation and perfection of the world." A *marchande* of Angoulême said, "What happy women are the women of Icaria." She was doing everything in her power to "icarize" her "voisines marchandes." She concluded by saying that she was rather embarrassed that a mere woman should interest herself in such profound matters—deference to be sure, but an awakening of real significance.[91] In 1848 Cabet would momentarily become the darling of the feminist movement as Jeanne Deroin and Eugénie Niboyet made his words in defense of womankind headline material.[92] In actual fact, Cabet, while he wrote at length about the domestic, economic, and sexual oppression of

[87] The foregoing citations are found in *Le Populaire,* June 5, 1844, Jan. 24, 1846, July 12, 1843, and Jan. and Feb. 1845 (Supplement).

[88] In an encyclical "letter on doctrines" of November 1846, the pontiff declared communism to be "unnatural" and "immoral"; Cabet responded: "Would the Pope thus be anti-Christ?" (*Le Populaire,* Dec. 25, 1846.)

[89] Cabet devoted one of his *Douze lettres* (Paris, 1842) to the oppression of the female and reprinted it separately several times.

[90] Calculated from letters and lists in Cabet, *Notre procès en escroquerie, passim.*

[91] *Le Populaire,* Sept. 5, 1847, Oct. 31, 1846.

[92] See their "Adresse au Citoyen Cabet," *Le Populaire,* Apr. 2, 1848, and the March 1848 issues of *La Voix des Femmes,* as well as A. Ranvier, "Une féministe de 1848, Jeanne Deroin," *La Révolution de 1848,* 4 (1907–08): 324.

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women, did not believe in women's suffrage and showed scant regard for their rights in the Nauvoo community.[93]

The motives for becoming communists evinced by Icarians themselves show a diversity like that advanced earlier on the basis of indirect evidence. Is it then possible to present a picture of the "typical" Icarian? It is, perhaps, if we use the Weberian concept of the ideal type in the full rigor that he attached to the term, that is, as a description that applies to no Icarian in particular but that brings together the dominant features of Icarians' experiences, conditions of existence, and attitudes. The ideal-typical Icarian would seem to have the following characteristics: (1) a poor journeyman artisan in a traditional, low-status, urban craft threatened less by technological change than by modernized business practices; (2) a person who was literate and possessed some propensity for a theoretical consideration of his situation; (3) a Christian, if not a supporter of the institutional Church; and (4) a family man of middle age who had already endured considerable hardship and who was frustrated by his own lack of mobility in a society that made equality of opportunity one of its chief values.[94]

WHILE THE ROOTS of the Icarian movement have been considerably clarified, we have as yet little appreciation of the organization and degree of internal cohesion in the movement, its dynamics, and its ultimate tendency toward sectarianism. With the analysis of these problems, an overall assessment will become possible.

Because of the restrictions set by law, the Icarian group could not be organized in any formal manner.[95] Thus the only visible form of organization

[93] See the scathing comments of his former follower (and *feuilletoniste*), Jenny d'Héricourt, in *La Femme affranchie* (Brussels, 1858), 1: 21–63.

[94] The last is admittedly impressionistic, since we know the age of a relatively small number of Icarians. Yet only three of these were younger than thirty in 1845, and on the basis of a thorough examination of personal letters to Cabet, it would appear that most of his correspondents had behind them considerable experience of the trials of working-class life. The family emphasis, which Cabet made for doctrinal purposes, seems to have been in line with the realities of the Icarian party. The large number of women in the Icarian camp and the nature of Icarian group life (to be discussed in the following section) provide further evidence. Finally, the large number of families that emigrated to America indicates that most Icarians were between thirty and fifty and were married. With regard to the question of literacy, we again lack any statistical basis, but it is well known that the artisan elements from which Icarians were recruited normally possessed the rudiments of reading and writing. We know of only one adherent who was illiterate. Finally, we can make no definite assessment of the previous political or organizational involvement of Icarians. The evidence presented above on the appeal of legalism shows that some had been secret society members. Others had admired Cabet in the early thirties. Icarian tailors in the west may have been union members before. Martin Nadaud, at least, was a leader in the strike movement of 1840. We may perhaps conclude that location determines the answer to this question: Lyon, Paris, Nantes, Toulouse, and perhaps Vienne provided a milieu where considerable activism was possible in the 1830s. In many other towns Icarianism was probably the first doctrine to make much of an impact on the working class. This contradicts a blanket statement I made in "Cabet and Class Antagonism" (p. 410), which was rooted in insufficient evidence.

[95] That is, without government consent. Upon his return to France in 1839, Cabet had attempted to re-create an educational association similar to the Association libre pour l'éducation du peuple, which he headed in 1833–34, but his application was rejected because of his radical

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was connected with the publication and distribution of *Le Populaire*. This turned out to be a fairly efficient means of maintaining unity. Strictly speaking, *Le Populaire* was a legal business enterprise. It formed a *société en commandite,* and its shareholders, largely recruited from the working class, met on a regular basis. Although they dealt with business problems, the main purpose of their meetings was to discuss and to give advisory votes upon practical and doctrinal issues as they arose.

A commission of from ten to twenty Parisians handled the details of Cabet's many special projects, prepared certain works in the name of the entire Icarian party, directed shareholder and subscription campaigns, advised Cabet on day-to-day affairs, and reported the sentiment of Parisian workers. The commission had no formal structure, but one man, Firman Favard, emerged as its *de facto* director. He was a tailor and became Cabet's son-in-law in 1846.[96] The commission provided Cabet with a group of devoted agents without whom the development and management of a movement would have been impossible. Its occupational composition mirrored that of the Icarian party at large.[97]

A kind of "kitchen cabinet" also figured in the direction of the movement. Its members advised Cabet on major policy decisions and on theoretical questions. Unlike the commission, all, with the exception of Favard and J.-P. Beluze, a cabinetmaker, were bourgeois. Hermann Ewerbeck, a friend of Engels, served as his foreign correspondent and translated the *Voyage en Icarie* into German. Louis Krolikowski, a Polish exile and a communist theorist in his own right, was the moving spirit behind the Christian element in Cabet's writings.[98] J.-B. Robillard, L. V. Maillard, Beluze, and Favard, all members of the commission, probably wrote rough copy for *Le Populaire* and assisted in the publication of the *Almanach*. Charles Chameroy, a traveling salesman, was the tireless provincial propagandist for the movement. Finally, Camille Berrier-Fontaine, an old friend and collaborator and one of the key figures among the French exiles in London, advised Cabet by mail on numerous issues, especially the emigration.

The basis of the nationwide organization of Icarianism was the system of local *correspondants du Populaire*. These agents took subscriptions and sold

reputation. (AN, F17 6687 dos. Cabet.) This experience, coupled with the post-1840 clampdown, made the formation of a legal communist association unthinkable.

96 Martin Nadaud was very impressed by Favard, a "superb *garçon,* who due to his studies, had deep knowledge on all social questions." *Mémoires de Léonard,* 175.

97 Of the 1846 commission, Aron, Favard, and Ducreux were tailors, Ducoin a shoemaker, Desty and Julin bootmakers, Beluze (who replaced Favard as chief after the latter's death in 1847) and Guérin cabinetmakers, Bapsubra a hatter; Prudent a jeweler, Simon a clockmaker, Guénichet a piano maker, Coutellier a machinist, Montagne a file maker, Dumotier a weaver, Nadaud a mason, Maillard a *commis-négociant,* Robillard a wealthy merchant in the bakery trade (he was an elector), and Leroy a leather merchant. Actionnaires du Populaire, *Biographie de M. Cabet* (Paris, 1846), n.p.

98 For more detailed biographical sketches of these men, see Johnson, Dissertation, 361–62; and E. Silburner, "Le Correspondance Moses Hess-Louis Krolikowski," *Annali dell'Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli* (1960): 583–86.

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Cabet's other works, keeping a stock of his books and pamphlets on hand. They distributed the paper from their homes or shops when the bundles arrived each month; made collections, such as the one to finance a ceremony in honor of Eugène Sue; organized petition drives; held periodic meetings; and in general oversaw the movement on the local level. Above all, they were Cabet's link with his huge following in the provinces. They reported the progress and difficulties of the movement, circulated addresses of support for signatures, and felt the pulse of their communities. Normally one man could handle the job, although in Lyon a commission, similar to the one in Paris, assisted the correspondent. All the correspondents reported directly to Cabet. Thus, despite the role of propagandists from Niort, Lyon, and Vienne in bringing Icarianism to Châtellerault, Rive-de-Gier, or Grenoble, neither Faucon, Paul Guay, nor Vincent Cöeffé had any direct authority in these towns. To have allowed such authority would have smacked of secret society organization. Moreover, it would have reduced Cabet's control over the movement.

The ultimate sovereignty within the movement rested fully with Cabet. His stress on doctrinal purity, his ranting against "needless competition," and his dictatorial mien are well known.[99] The structure of Icarianism both reflected and accentuated his authoritarian position. While the assembled shareholders were the final arbiters in purely business matters, their votes on all other issues had no binding power, and the rank and file in Paris and the provinces had no direct structural influence whatsoever. One could give up his subscription and denounce Cabet, but positive democratic avenues of pressure were nonexistent.[100] In the eyes of the law, of course, such procedures would have been seen as manifestations of "unauthorized association." In effect, Cabet's power benefited from the repressive political system he so often decried.

Still, it would be incorrect to think of the Icarians as a constellation of atoms revolving around a single center. As the movement matured, the bond among its adherents deepened, especially on the local level. While Cabet and his advisers sometimes suggested certain areas in which group activities might be undertaken, he seemed hesitant to follow through on them.[101] His attitude toward intense local relationships within his party always remained equivo-

[99] A close reading of the first major work on Cabet—Jules Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son fondateur* (Paris, 1907)—reveals this, though Prudhommeaux does not emphasize these characterstics since Beluze, who became Cabet's daughter's second husband, was still alive and had provided him with invaluable assistance in writing his book. Angrand *(Étienne Cabet)* also underplays these characteristics, but Rude faces the reality of Cabet's personality more directly ("Introduction," *Voyage en Icarie*). For a full assessment, see Johnson, Dissertation, 282–317.

[100] Cabet's desire for full control over the destinies of his movement became completely evident in the constitution he outlined for the American Icaria. He proposed a Buonarrotian authoritarian structure that drew heated criticism from many quarters. The most eloquent protest came from J.-B. Millière, a lawyer, Icarian sympathizer, and future martyr of the Paris commune. See *Le Populaire*, Oct. 24, 1847.

[101] Instruction societies, libraries, "a great society for moralization and temperance," and a "judicial council" to advise workers on their legal rights were all proposed in *Le Populaire* during 1842 and 1843, but none of them were instituted under Cabet's direction. These proposals (and an apology for not having acted on them) were listed again in the September 24, 1844, issue of his newspaper.

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cal, whether for fear of the police or for fear of losing his power we cannot say.

Whatever the leader's position on this question, a local group life and relative cohesion among Icarians grew. The bulk of our information concerns Lyon, and the most valuable commentary on the nature of Icarian gatherings and relationships comes from Sébastien Commissaire.

> The Lyonnais Icarians formed several groups of which the most important met at the home of M. Garçon, rue Saint Rose, in the Croix Rousse. I often attended these meetings, which were composed of men, women, and children. Evenings there passed agreeably. We recited fables. We sang politico-socialist songs that were, for the most part, written by young Icarians. We discussed all sorts of political and social questions. It was an excellent way for men to get used to public speaking. To please the women and children, the evenings usually ended in playing games.[102]

With these few words, one is carried to the heart of "Icarian life." Perhaps the most interesting remark is the reference to fables and songs composed by Icarians themselves. This means that a kind of Icarian culture existed. We are extremely fortunate that one of these fables has survived, although it is unknown whether or not its author, B. Turgard, was a Lyonnais. It is entitled "Le rocher, la source et le vieillard" and was found among the manuscripts in the Cabet papers at the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris.[103] Here is the story: In the depths of a great promontory, overlooking a sunbaked and barren plain, "a tiny spring, of crystal waters, had just been born." Blocked by the massive cliff, the rivulet asked "to continue my way, for such is my destiny." But the cliff haughtily refused it passage. It was deaf to the entreaties of the spring that its waters could make the fields below green again; "I will cover the great meadow with flowers, vines will cling to your sides: Utopia!" The insensitive stone replied only with mocks and threats. Then an old man appeared and with one blow, opened up the great rock and the spring flowed forth.

> Et soudain prairie et coteau,
> Étant arrosés du ruisseau,
> Se couronnèrent de verdure. . . .
> La source à l'onde pure
> Est le socialisme.
> Le roc c'est l'ignorance et égoïsme.
> Le vieillard aux effets puissants,
> Le temps.

Thus one enters these Icarian gatherings and shares with them their dreams of a communist future.

[102] Commissaire, *Mémoires*, 1: 97–98. Garçon split with Cabet in late 1844, so Commissaire is referring to a time prior to this. Commissaire was deeply involved in militant circles in Lyon and a loyal Icarian until 1844.

[103] Papiers Cabet, XV (undated), BHVP.

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We can also sing their songs. A worker from Niort who had moved to Paris, Charles Tessier, composed a "Chant communiste, dédié à M. Cabet" and sent it to Cabet with a letter on June 1, 1844.[104] In the letter he stressed that songs were a marvelous means of propaganda, especially among those for whom reading was difficult. They would also increase Icarian solidarity. The last stanza of his song epitomizes the spirit that he hoped to generate.

> Le temps n'est pas si loin qu'on peut le croire,
> Où les Trésors dont vous vous emparez,
> Même à vos yeux ne vaudront pas la gloire,
> En biens communs vous les réunirez.
> Vos noms, qu'alors on aura soin d'inscrire,
> Passeront grands à la postérité:
> Avec bonheur nous irons les relire,
> Nous qui voulons *sagesse* et *liberté*.

The songs of the "young Icarians" of Lyon were probably not so polished, but again we get a sense of the evening meetings. Commissaire noted further that since these affairs were "extra-legal, every time the police came around it was necessary that we play innocent games. . . ."[105] Thus a certain amount of danger and excitment remained—the old secret society atmosphere was not entirely absent.

Sunday outings into the countryside were also popular in Lyon. Unlike the more serious evening gatherings, these picnics were largely for pleasure. "Friends were invited; everybody got to know one another; the young people danced; finally, we enjoyed ourselves so much the more so because no one spouted off there." Thus did Frédéric Olinet, a later emigrant to Nauvoo, pass many Sundays.[106] Garçon and Lardet, two Icarian leaders in the earlier stages of the movement at Lyon, opened their homes to those who wished to set up night schools for adults of both sexes. Finally a formal "society," known as the Bibliothèques, was created in Lyon in 1843. It was subdivided into groups of fewer than twenty who met periodically to discuss socialist and radical works they had read. They paid dues in order to build up a library and created a lending service for nonmembers. The government attempted to link the Bibliothèques with a group of militants found to possess an armory in 1844 but could not prosecute; this Icarian subassociation lived on thereafter and no doubt helped to spread the doctrine in Lyon.[107]

Although the Icarian group at Lyon may well have been the most active in France, it is hard to believe that similar confraternities did not exist elsewhere. After the emigration announcement Cabet became less guarded

[104] Tessier's handwritten version may be found among the Papiers Cabet, VII, BHVP. A printed copy (Paris, 1844) is possessed by the IISG (F1177/167 fol.). Tessier to Cabet, June 1, 1844, Papiers Cabet, VII, BHVP.

[105] Commissaire, *Mémoires,* 1: 98.

[106] Olinet, *Voyage,* 18–19.

[107] The relevant documents are: Procureur général de Lyon to the Garde des Sceaux, Sept. 20, 1844, AN, BB[18] 1423 dos. 8701; *Le Populaire,* Sept. 28, Oct. 1844; Cabet, *Les Masques arrachés* (Paris, 1844), 41–44; and Commissaire, *Mémoires,* 1: 105–06.

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about discussing such activities; numerous reports of banquets, *fêtes*, and outings were printed in *Le Populaire*.[108] Since the examples from Lyon all occurred before 1847 and were not reported, it stands to reason that a local group life existed in other centers earlier as well.

Icarianism was thus a movement with a clear if largely informal organization, local cohesion, and even a culture of sorts. The final question must now be posed: We know very well that the movement grew rapidly in size and extent after 1843, but what was the pattern of this growth, and when, under what conditions, did the movement evolve into a sect?

The data presented in table 1 provide an excellent shorthand guide to the dynamics of the movement, since both the total printing and the number of new subscribers each month are listed. By plotting one against the other over time, the main periods of disequilibrium in the growth of the movement can be determined. The difference between the rates of increase in the number of papers printed (about seventy-five per cent of which went to subscribers) and in the cumulative total of the number of new subscribers is a reliable measure of the rate of cancellations or failures to renew. We can thus pinpoint the periods of rapid subscription turnover and hence of internal conflict and upheaval within the movement. About a year after the movement began to experience sustained growth in the wake of the trial at Toulouse, the first major internal crisis occurred. This was the period (July–December 1844) during which Cabet began to stress strict doctrinal conformity; he purged the Icarian party of proponents of violence and developed the term "Icarian" to apply to his communists. The reaction in Lyon was especially strong, and several of his important adherents there dissolved their direct relationship with him.[109] The second and more significant period (October 1845–August 1846) corresponds to the great conflict that Cabet waged with *La Réforme;* in the course of the polemic Cabet more clearly defined his attitudes toward class relations and first confronted the logical inconsistencies of his pacifist tactical position. As a result the movement lost a considerable number of adherents, probably mostly bourgeois, and took on a more rigidly proletarian character.[110]

From August 1846 until the end of the year smooth and quite rapid growth took place. Then, in midwinter, things started to go haywire. New subscriptions came in at their previous rate, but Cabet stopped reporting the total printing. He would not do so again until a year later, then showing an increase of only 500. Cancellations were offsetting new subscriptions. What was happening? At this point the combined impact of three factors may be offered in explanation. The depression of 1846–47 was beginning to take its toll, thus forcing poorer Icarians to give up their subscriptions. Then, too, harder economic conditions, reinforcing the logic of Cabet's analyses of class conflict in

[108] See, for instance, the reports of Icarian banquets and festivals at Reims, "in the Alps," and at Rennes and "outings" at Lyon itself in *Le Populaire,* Sept. 12, Oct. 17, and Nov. 28, 1847.

[109] See below, n.126.

[110] See Johnson, "Cabet and Class Antagonism," 420–28.

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1846, may have pushed some followers into a more outspoken defense of violent means and hence to neo-Babouvism.[111] Finally, the increasingly religious emphasis in the doctrine probably led to the separation of some Icarians. The initial upturn in the number of new subscriptions in 1847 is related to the conversion of *Le Populaire* into a weekly. Cabet long expected this change to increase his readership, and it obviously did—but again he did not publish information on the total printing of his newspaper.[112] Cancellations were still apparently numerous, probably for the reasons already noted. Then on May 9, 1847, came the great moment in the history of Icarian communism, the electrifying message, *Allons en Icarie!* It clearly stimulated an unprecedented number of new subscriptions, but the total printing still went unreported. Overall, between November 1846 and November 1847, the number of subscriptions actually held increased by a scant 375, while there were 2,328 new subscribers. There had thus been a fantastic turnover in the movement. Nearly half the Icarian group (as measured by subscribers) was new on the eve of the Revolution of 1848. A huge number had rejected Cabet because of his pacifism, his apparent religiosity, or his escapism.

But others had rallied. The focus of Icarian communism changed drastically after May 1847. I have carefully analyzed elsewhere the process by which the decision to emigrate came about.[113] The decision resulted in a more ardent, more devoted, if possibly less numerous body of Icarian communists.[114] This trend, though now more pronounced, repeated a process evident during the earlier periods of disequilibrium. A "closing of the ranks," a greater exclusivism, stricter conformity in matters of doctrine, and the departure of those who did not fit, characterized each period. The leader more dominant, the following more committed: the outward features, at least, of a sect grew with each stage. More important, in late 1846 and throughout 1847, Icarian communism increasingly took on the characteristics of a religion. These two dimensions define the evolution of this social movement into a sect.[115] Space does not

[111] This was certainly the case at Tours, where a group of Icarians decided to take a more militant stance. The influence of Auguste Blanqui (currently at the local hospital after nearly dying at Mont-Saint-Michel) was afoot here as well. See Cabet, *Le Voile soulevé sur le procès communiste à Tours et Blois* (Paris, 1847); AN, BB[21] 5028; AD, Loir-et-Cher, 3 UI 42; Desmoulins to Cabet, Nov. 26, 1846, Papiers Cabet, BHVP.

[112] It is unlikely that many cancellations occurred as a result of the changeover to weekly publication. Cabet continued to publish a paper every month that, in addition to normal weekly material, summarized the contents of the previous three weeklies; thus those who could not afford the weekly could continue as before.

[113] Johnson, "Cabet and Class Antagonism," 413–17, 435–39.

[114] It is most interesting that, when compared with earlier manifestations, a disproportionate number of the positive responses to the emigration call were individual letters. Also, when multiple-signature addresses were sent, they usually contained fewer names than did supportive declarations for other purposes. Thus while 443 Rémois Icarians condemned Cabet's arrest late in 1847, only 99 signed the letter approving the emigration, and Mauvais, the *correspondant*, apologized for the tardiness of their response. There was no mass letter supporting the "colony" from Lyon at all.

[115] J. F. C. Harrison, conveniently summarizing the work of Bryon R. Wilson as it applied to Owenism, defines "sect" in the following manner: "a small religious group, in which membership is voluntary and limited to persons having certain special convictions or experiences in common. A rejection of the values of society, and withdrawal or separateness from the world,

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allow a full documentation of this transformation, but its general outlines can be described.

From its inception, Cabet had conceived of his communism as the fulfillment of the real message of Jesus Christ. Yet personally he remained a deist, despite urgent pleas that he recognize the divine origins of his doctrine.[116] Never did he seek to portray himself in the role of a messiah. If he was called *le Père* Cabet, it was—until very late in the history of the movement—only in the context of the purely secular honor bestowed by workingmen upon their most revered leaders.[117] In general, the concept that "communism is Christianity in its primitive purity" was, at worst, a propaganda device and, at best, a sincere conviction on Cabet's part that he was following a central tradition of Western culture.[118]

But Cabet's outlook is not the issue at stake; it is, rather, what his followers made of what he said and how he, in turn, responded. What we witness is the emergence of communist religious enthusiasm in the later phases of the movement's development, both before and after the announcement promoting the emigration to *la terre promise*.

The publication of *Le vrai Christianisme* turned the tide. For a full year followers had been chastizing Cabet for taking so long to prepare it, even to the point of saying that he was not really interested. Month after month he excused himself for the delay.[119] Two thousand copies were finally printed in June 1846 and sold out in three weeks. Christianity became the touchstone of the doctrine.

together with an expectation of some form of adventism further typify the sect. A mission to preach the Kingdom, an emphasis on fellowship (brotherly love), and allegiance understood as 'belief in the truth' are also commonly found." *Quest for the New Moral World,* 135. Icarianism never reached such a state before the Revolution of 1848, but the groundwork was being laid. In the 1850s a series of official reports keep us in touch with the Icarians of France. Their entire focus is on the colony; they meet from time to time and recite passages from the master; they provide contributions to be sent to Nauvoo or St. Louis, and they dream of making the crossing themselves: the Icarian sect, such as it was, had fully emerged. AN, BB^{30} 413 dos. 1242 P, 416 dos. 1329 P, 416 dos. 1342 P, 416 dos. 1346 P, 448 dos. 1452 P, 410 dos. 1563 P, 421 dos. 1619 P.

116 Dr. Desmoulins of Tours pressured Cabet on several occasions to convert. But the latter refused: "I thank you for your wishes and your efforts for my conversion and my salvation. But . . . none of your arguments has convinced me in the least." Cabet to Desmoulins (draft), May 8, 1843, Papiers Cabet, v, BHVP. John Minter Morgan was disappointed to find that Cabet was "all mixed up with political matters. . . . He pretends to no faith in the Christian Religion, but classes it with all other religions . . . as having one common origin—the ignorance and superstitution of the ruder stages of society." *Letters of a Clergyman on the Institutions for Ameliorating the Conditions of the People* (London, 1846), 119.

117 There is a suggestion of a communist Second Coming in *Voyage en Icarie* (p. 532), but it is the only sentence in this vein Cabet himself ever uttered. We also know that Cabet circulated a portrait of himself, and on the opposite flap of this hinged lithograph was a picture of Jesus. The procureur général of Amiens saw it simply as a device for raising money, for Cabet was selling the little album "for a high enough price." (Report of Nov. 29, 1847, AN, BB^{18} 1441 dos. 1992.) Sébastien Commissaire remarked in a key passage: ". . . this word [*Père*] includes all other appellations for the workers. It is a name that . . . indicates not only admiration but the love that the workers show their friends. Do not think that the people are extravagant with this appellation. . . . I have only seen two men given this name in my time, M. Cabet and M. Raspail." *Mémoires,* 1: 99.

118 The latter is the clear impression rendered by *Le vrai Christianisme* read in isolation.

119 *Le Populaire,* Sept. 1845–May 1846.

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In announcing the forthcoming publication of his new work, Cabet gave the watchword: "Forward therefore, Communists! Let us take again the principles of Christ! Our communism is manifestly, incontestably, the same thing as true Christianity." But the God of true Christianity was not the God of traditional Christianity.

> The *God* of Christianity is not a God of superstition and ignorance, of privilege and oppression; it is the God of Nature and of Reason, the God of intelligence and *la lumière,* the God of Liberty and Equality, especially the God of the Poor to save them from misery, and the God of the oppressed to deliver them from oppression.

The true religion was that of love and concord, of "the human personality, of the dignity of man, of his independence and his liberty." By and large, Cabet's religious rhetoric remained rational, although he occasionally lapsed into semimysticism. For example,

> If you have Faith, you will appease the tempest and you will walk on the waves. And then you will emerge from the Shadows to pass into the Light, from Death to pass into Life, from the Reign of Satan to pass into the Reign of God, which will give the Human Race eternal life with eternal felicity.

This variation of tone was no doubt meant to satisfy both the humanists and the fundamentalists among his followers.[120] *Le vrai Christianisme* itself, although mainly devoted to explaining the Bible in rational terms and showing why allegorical language had to be used, was still filled with emotion-packed sentences, such as: "This will be a Perfect People, a Holy Nation, the pure of heart, imitators of God, without sins, without crimes, and without vices."[121] In playing to both the true believers and the "intellectual Christians," it would seem that he caught more of the former and, in addition, brought out the latent millenial enthusiasm of many of his older followers. Already in June of 1846 the Icarian group in Toulon had compared Cabet to Christ: "You imitate, by your dedication, this Christ whose maxims you adopt; like him you identify yourself with the poor and the oppressed; like him you preach the most sublime morality which the heart of man can form; like him you expose all the attacks of the Pharisees of the century and of the Priests who crucified him." Throughout the rest of the year and in early 1847 Cabet continued to exhort the workers of France, his new work sold well, and his followers replied in kind by avowing their Christian-communist faith to Cabet, their "très cher et vénéré père des pauvres et de l'opprimé." While his followers in Vienne would "go on their knees before no mortal" and the Toulousains agreed that "the age of *révélateurs* had passed," there began to occur in 1846 a vague but perceptible shift toward seeing Cabet as the martyr and apostle of a religious faith.[122]

[120] *Ibid.,* May 26, June 27, 1846.
[121] *Le vrai Christianisme,* 313.
[122] *Le Populaire,* June 27, 1846; J. Clémence to Cabet, Mar. 6, 1847, Papiers Cabet, VIII,

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We do not know to what extent the Icarian movement was reduced in size in 1847, or even definitely that it was. A massive change in composition was evident, however, and a heightened spirit of exclusivism and of religious enthusiasm grew among those Icarians who remained loyal. A sect was in the making.

This sect, visible on the horizon in 1846, came into its own after the emigration project was announced. All one has to do is to listen to a few of the positive responses to the project. The strong Christian, if not Catholic, impulse that still animated many French workers in the 1840s,[123] stirred by the frustrations of their misery and the vision of an earthly paradise, burst into full flame. Nearly all the "receptions" carried some religious allusion. A declaration from Périgueux was typical: "Yes, let us leave this worm-eaten and gangrenous society! . . . Apostles of the social regeneration, let us go to place the first stone in the edifice announced by Christ! . . . for we shall leave behind the life in the tombs in order to be born again in the promised land and *sous le soleil des lumières.*" Cabet was described in a variety of ways: he was the "New Moses," the "dear and worthy apostle of Christ," and "the faithful imitator of Christ." A letter from Justine B., of Nantes, exemplified the new meaning that "Père" was taking on. "Oh, our father *par excellence* who prepared the paradise for all humanity, . . . let us follow [him] who wishes to lead his children and to share their pains and their hardships. . . . My blood, my life belong to him!" Pierre Rivard, a Parisian journeyman tailor, was joining the emigration because he wanted "to realize the goal of Christ—let the mountains crumble and the valleys fill." Another worker, identified only as R——, specifically compared Cabet with Christ: "Our epoch has many analogies with the one when God sent Christ to save humanity, and we must honor with our sympathies he who dares in our day to undertake a similar mission."[124] In reviewing these voices of the new Icarian atmosphere it is difficult not to agree with the unkind words of Proudhon, who, observing the movement and Cabet's utopia even in 1846, remarked: "They are to be like oysters attached side by side, with neither activity nor feeling, on the rock of fraternity."[125]

The growth of the Icarian sect can be concretely illustrated by the move-

BHVP. For reactions to *Le vrai Christianisme* and for Cabet's increasing use of Christian catch phrases (e.g., "Communism can only say: I am the resurrection and the life," *Le Populaire*, Aug. 28, 1846), see *Le Populaire* during these months.

123 Joseph Moody is rather clearly in error when he uses the term "dechristianization" in discussing the religious outlook of the French worker, at least before 1848. ("The Dechristianization of the French Working Class," *Review of Politics*, 15 [1958]: 46–49.) As François Isambert stresses, it was a question of the rejection of the historical Church. "One even sees a change of reference come about progressively during the July Monarchy. More and more, at least at Paris and Lyon, it is Christianity that is invoked as the religious base of which the Catholic Church is only a particular denomination." "L'Attitude religieuse des ouvriers français au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle," *Archives de sociologie des religions*, 6 (1958): 21–22.

124 *Le Populaire*, May 23, Aug. 22, July 25, Dec. 5, 1847.

125 Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *Système des contraditions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère* (1846), in C. Bouglé and H. Moysset, eds., *Oeuvres complètes de P.-J. Proudhon*, 2 (Paris, 1923): 282.

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ment's internal development at Lyon. By mid-1842 a group of Icarian sympathizers had been brought together under the leadership of Chapius, a *chef d'atelier* in the silk industry. Almost immediately a conflict arose over Cabet's bitter exchange with Théodore Dézamy. The central concern of the dissidents was the leader's imperious attitude toward lowly workers and his desire for strict doctrinal conformity. A schism resulted, and a communist element led by Louis Greppo and Joseph Benoît emerged, taking an independent position but supporting important aspects of Cabet's doctrine. In September 1843 Cabet went to Lyon and partially patched over the split by taking a more militant stance on revolutionary means. But he was unable to maintain his authority; a year later we hear of a further breach in which such important figures as J. J. Razuret, Garçon, and Sébastien Commissaire, loyal supporters in the 1842 conflict, decided to reject the term "Icarian" while still lauding the goals and ideals of Cabet's communism. By 1846–47 it would appear that two sorts of Icarian groups existed in Lyon. In a series of doctrinal discussions in the semi-Fourierist paper, *La Tribune lyonnaise,* men like Razuret and Garçon published views that were distinctly "Icarian," but they never used the term, nor did they pay any obeisance to Cabet. At the same time Faucon, Poncet, and others published articles and a brochure defending Icarian communism specifically against its enemies. Thus a broad trend of Icarian-oriented communism existed side by side with a narrower Cabetist contingent. Later events prove the validity of this analysis. When the emigration announcement was made, the former element roundly condemned the decision, vowing that "a revolution is near," while the leadership of the latter praised it and began to recruit for the "departure." In the course of the Revolution of 1848 the disloyal Icarians—Razuret, Garçon, and their friends —were men of real importance in the events, and the earlier schismatics, Greppo and his circle, were the veritable working-class leaders of the revolution. On the other hand, Faucon and Poncet played distinctly minor roles. It is clear that the Cabetist element had more or less enclosed itself within a sectarian crust that tended to undermine its effectiveness in making the kind of pragmatic decisions required by a revolutionary situation.[126] A similar process occurred in Reims where Cabetist Icarians under Eugène Butôt were outflanked in the course of the revolution by more militant and more flexible communists under J.-L. Gonzalle and, eventually, Agathon Bressy.[127]

[126] Cabet to Chapius (draft), July 13, 1844, Chapius to Cabet, Oct. 31, 1844, Papiers Cabet, VIII, BHVP; Commissaire, *Mémoires,* I: 98; Joseph Benoît, *Confessions d'un prolétaire (Lyon, 1871),* MS edited by Maurice Moissonier (Paris, 1968), 73; Johnson, "Deux lettres," *passim; La Tribune lyonnaise,* Oct., Dec. 1845, Oct., Dec. 1846; André Poncet, *Réponse communiste icarienne à la Tribune lyonnaise* (Le Guillotière, 1845) (both at Biblothèque municipale de Lyon); letter from J.-J. Razuret, *Le Populaire,* Nov. 21, 1847; *Le Populaire,* May 4, 1848; *La Tribune lyonnaise,* Apr. 11, 1848; François Dutacq, *Histoire politique de Lyon pendant la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1910), *passim;* Jean Gaumont, *Le Mouvement ouvrier d'association et de Coöpération à Lyon* (Lyon, [1919]), 22–37.

[127] See *Le Républicain,* Mar. 3–Apr. 4, 1848 (Bibliothèque municipale de Reims); and Gustave Laurent, "La Révolution de 1848," *Le Département de la Marne et la Révolution de 1848* (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1948), 66–67.

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IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, it can be argued that the entire movement displays two contradictory trends. On one hand, men deeply influenced by Cabet increasingly rejected his authority, his pacifism, his religiosity, and/or his simple utopian concepts of social constructionism. In effect, they followed the logic that Cabet himself suggested in the course of his debate with *La Réforme*—the recognition of bourgeois-working-class antagonism—without losing the basic idealism, the belief in *dévouement,* that marked his outlook.[128] On the other hand, clusters of Icarian true believers, impressed by the ephemeral New Jerusalem that Cabet promised overseas and by the Christian-communist equation, and possessing a semimessianic view of their "father," closed their ranks. After a brief flirtation with the idea that the Revolution of 1848 might make France the Icaria of their dreams, they encased themselves in dwindling numbers in an exclusive fellowship devoted to the realization of the saintly kingdom in the wilds of America. That the sectarianization of Icarian communism destroyed its viability as an influential movement is beyond doubt.[129]

It would also seem that such a process was virtually inevitable. It is useless to blame Cabet and Krolikowski for the emergence of an Icarian sect. The flood of chiliastic responses to *Le vrai Christianisme* and to the call for emigration adequately demonstrate the deep well of working-class emotion that underlay their position. What is most striking to the student of the larger processes of social change is that the social consciousness of a long-oppressed class cannot form solely on the basis of immediate experience, but at first integrates values lodged deep in the traditional culture. Materialism and belief in the class struggle were largely foreign to this culture. Christianity was not, and neither, thanks to the French Revolution, were such Jacobin concepts as dedication, virtue, and dignity. And, of course, neither was a certain amount of working-class deference to the alleged intellectual superiority of its bourgeois "betters." It was mentioned earlier that the Christian element, always present in Icarian doctrine, served to entice most of the bourgeois who became Icarians into the movement during its early period of growth. It seems beyond question that Dr. Desmoulins, Laty, Chameroy, and others had great influence on Cabet, the former lawyer, procureur général, and deputy. For most of his working-class followers (at least the Cabetists) this influence was accepted as natural, given the normative framework of their social attitudes. The specific source of the Christian emphasis was bourgeois, and sectarianism developed in part as a response to bourgeois ideology. Regenerated, "true" Christianity thus tied a working-class movement to a basic element of preindustrial Western culture and tended to patch over the increasingly evident gulf between class interests in French society.

[128] The combination of rationalist idealism and belief in the class struggle—by no means an unusual hybrid in 1848—perhaps amounts to a peculiar form of communism. If so, Lyon was its most important center, and a careful study of this strand of thought, basically working class in origin, has yet to be made. Its possible bearing on the later history of French socialism is intriguing. See Johnson, "Deux lettres," 533.

[129] See above, n.115.

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Social science is hardly served by applying Marx's pejorative "utopian" or "archaic" to the Icarian movement. It appears instead as a specific phase in the reaction of the working masses to the upheaval produced by political and economic modernization. In France it was the first mass movement to accept the total overthrow of the emerging capitalist society. But worker-artisan experience was insufficient for the movement to rid itself of traditional encumbrances. Beyond that, there existed no concrete analysis that might have served to replace the sectarian framework. Many of Cabet's own followers saw that sect and emigration amounted to a disastrous cul-de-sac and mistrusted class collaboration and pacifism. Yet, on the whole, as the early months of the Revolution of 1848 were to show, the average French urban worker was "generous" and tended toward mysticism.[130] He was, in other words, in tune with the general outlook motivating most Icarians. To what extent working-class attitudes in 1848 were influenced by Cabet[131] and to what extent Icarianism reflected the larger spectrum are questions impossible to answer. But it is undeniable that Icarian communism could not escape its age. French society was in that amorphous stage of transition in which new class lines could not yet be clearly perceived. The Icarian movement was rooted in this fluid situation. Its shape and its nature bore the stamp of the confused interaction of two different societies, one traditional, the other industrial. The struggles of the Second Republic significantly undermined the hold of tradition on the French worker, and the Icarian phase in the growth of working-class consciousness—the phase of artisan sectarian communism—abruptly came to an end.

[130] See especially the outstanding article of L. Lévy-Schneider, "Les Débuts de la Révolution de 1848 à Lyon," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 15 (1911): 24–61, 177–98.

[131] Pierre Leroux was convinced that Cabet's influence was fundamental in the formation of working-class attitudes in 1848. *La Grève de Samarez* (Paris, 1864), 2: 377–78.

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Historical Analogism, Public Policy, and Social Science in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century China

ROBERT M. HARTWELL

THE NEW ECONOMIC and political historians generally advocate that historical research can, and should, be organized as a social or policy science,[1] and arguments that statesmen and rulers must heed the so-called lessons of history are as old as the discipline itself. But Western experience provides few examples of the systematic and regular use of the study of the past as a tool for social analysis and as a guide in law-making. The Chinese historian was more fortunate. When Su Hsün, in the exordium of his mid-eleventh-century "Discussion on History," asks, "For what purpose is history written?"[2] he is inquiring about an integral element in the contemporary policy formation process and a central issue in the ideological controversies that characterized Chinese intellectual and political life from the mid-T'ang through the Southern Sung (ca. 750–1300). During these centuries there were three different, and frequently antithetical, trends in the often noted "historical-mindedness" of the Chinese people[3]—classicism, moral didacticism, and historical analogism. And the varying fortunes of these contrasting attitudes had a significant impact on the nature of social analysis and the shape of state action.

The classicist[4] of Middle Period China (ca. 600–1300) believed that

[1] See, for example, Lee Benson, "Middle Period Historiography: What is to be Done?" in Gerald Grob and George Billias, eds., *American History: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York, 1971), 154–90.

[2] Su Hsün, *Chia-yu Chi* (Collected Papers of Su Hsün) (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* [hereafter *SPPY*] ed.), 8.1a.

[3] For the historical-mindedness of the Chinese, see the essays in E. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank, eds., *Historians of China and Japan* (London, 1961); E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Historiographical Tradition," in Raymond Dawson, ed., *The Legacy of China* (London, 1964), 143–64; and William Theodore de Bary, "Some Common Tendencies in Neo-Confucianism," in David S. Nivison and Arthur Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action* (Stanford, 1959), 42–43.

[4] In translating *ju* as "classicist" I follow Albert E. Dien, "Yen Chih-t'ui (531–591 ✓): A Buddho-Confucian," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford, 1962), 53. The common practice of using this term to mean "Confucian" is completely misleading before the late twelfth century. Before the Southern Sung it is treated as nearly synonymous with "pedant" by many writers who would have been shocked if they were accused of being un-Confucian. See, for example, Li Kou, *Chih-Chiang Li Hsien-sheng Wen-chi* (Collected Papers of Li Kou) (*Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an* [hereafter *SPTK*] ed.), 16.1a; and Huang Huai and Yang Shih-ch'i, *Li-tai Ming-ch'en Tsou-yi* (The Memorials of Famous Ministers of Successive Dynasties) (hereafter *LTTY*) (Taipeh, 1964), 6.13b–14a. There is, in fact, no Chinese

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three compilations—*The Book of Documents, The Book of Poetry,* and *The Rites of Chou*—described the institutions and principles of government of the Sage Kings and the Three Dynasties (from the legendary emperors Yao and Shun through the Western Chou dynasty).[5] Most of the information about this millennium and a half of Chinese history is of highly doubtful historicity and was primarily the creation of political philosophers from the sixth to the second centuries B.C. who were seeking to establish ancient authority for their own positions. Three other classics composed during this later period—*The Analects of Confucius, The Mencius,* and *The Classic of Filial Piety*—were also honored as interpreting and transmitting the "way" of antiquity. Since this corpus of canonical literature depicted the ideal society and provided an absolute standard for judging current policies, the classicist tended to view the history of postclassical times (that is, after 771 B.C.) as a chronicle of deviations from this pseudohistorical utopia and to see in its study little value and possibly great harm. The logical extreme was militantly antihistorical. Li Yen-chang's attack on a decree of 1112 to reinstate topics on history in the civil service recruitment examinations is representative.

> Those who study *The Book of Poetry, The Book of Documents,* and *The Rites of Chou* learn about the Former Sage Kings, while those who study the histories of Ch'in, Han, Sui, and T'ang [221 B.C.–A.D. 906] learn about prevalent customs. Recently the theses advanced by imperial advisers do not set forth the way [*tao*] of Yao and Shun, but advocate the common usages of Han and T'ang. Scholars are not made to specialize on the classics, but are led to learn about the prevalent customs of later times. Is this proper? I humbly hope that Your Majesty will rescind the decree of the former day. If scholars are made to concentrate their attention solely on the classics and are prevented from slipping into the study of the vulgar practices of later generations, then the empire will be fortunate indeed![6]

The second trend, moral didacticism, derived from the tradition that Confucius, in editing the chronicles of his native state of Lu—*The Spring and Autumn Annals*—alloted praise or blame to the participants in historical events as a means of encouraging the good and warning the evil.[7] According to the twelfth-century historical critic Fei Kun, "History records good fortune and disaster responding to events, and should display the intention

term for "Confucianism" before the Sung Neo-Confucians adopted "classicism" (*ju*) as synonymous with their own vision of an orthodox interpretation of the school of thought associated with the name of Confucius.

[5] The traditional dates of the Sage Kings (Yao and Shun) are 2356–2256 B.C. and 2255–2205 B.C., and those of the Three Dynasties are Hsia, 2205–1766 B.C.; Shang, 1766–1122 B.C.; and Western Chou, 1122–771 B.C.

[6] *Sung Hui-yao Chi-kao* (A Digest of Governmental Institutions of the Sung Dynasty) (hereafter *SHY*), re-collected from the *Yung-lo Ta-tien* (Grand Encyclopedia of 1403–24) by Hsü Sung (Shanghai, 1936), "Hsüan-chü" (Recruitment), 4.8a; Wu Tseng, *Neng-kai-chai Man-lu* (Occasional Notes of Wu Tseng) (*Pi-chi Hsiao-shuo Ta-kuan Hsü-pien* [Supplementary Ta-kuan Series of Short Stories and Occasional Notes] ed.; Taipeh, 1963), 12.15a–15b. The latter work dates this event in 1111. I follow the earlier and more authorative *SHY*.

[7] Charles S. Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge, 1938), 12–14.

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of encouraging and warning."[8] The continuing influence of this view that the historian should act as an ethical commentator is illustrated by its employment as a standard for the compilations of state historiography. According to Ts'ai T'ao, the veritable records and reign histories of the early Northern Sung (A.D. 960–1127) adopted the method of "concealed meaning" (*yin-yi*) ascribed to Confucius. When a bad emperor died, it would be indicated by writing "he fell without illness," and evil great ministers or imperial princes "passed away after a sudden sickness."[9] Tseng Kung's outline of the criteria he would employ in selecting materials for *The Official History of the First Five Reigns of the Sung Dynasty* stipulated that "if there is good and evil, which may be used to encourage or warn, and right or wrong, which should be contemplated by later generations, then it will be recorded in detail. Accounts of normal conduct will not be prepared."[10] And Chao Ju-t'eng attacked the appointment of a man of questionable moral character to the post of official historiographer on the grounds that "history is the medium used to publish the right and wrong of the world's myriad generations."[11]

This moral-didactic view of history writing owed its persistence and vitality partly to a close relationship with classicism. *The Spring and Autumn Annals* was incorporated into the Confucian canon quite early. Su Hsün, in answer to his question about the purpose of history, attempted to reconcile the first two of the Chinese quadripartite division of knowledge—classics, history, philosophy, and belles-lettres. He argued that history is composed in compassion for the "mean man" (*hsiao-jen*). It is used as a way to illustrate the meaning and principles of antiquity for the benefit of people of little capacity, who are unable to comprehend the primary canon. Since the compassion of Confucius in editing *The Annals of Lu* was exceptionally great, in this case a history became a classic.[12] This classicist compromise with history was essentially the position adopted by Chu Hsi in his Neo-Confucian synthesis of the twelfth century, which became official orthodoxy during the Yüan (1279–1368), Ming (1368–1644), and Ch'ing (1644–1911) dynasties. For example, the Southern Sung philosopher includes among the instructions to his disciples for the compilation of a digest of his *General Mirror of History* such rules as:

> It is impossible to record the district, native town, and genealogy of all men; only in the case of worthy men should these be briefly noted. In the case of deaths of ministers, it is only necessary to record those of all prime ministers. For worthy men note their office, honorary title, family and personal names, "died," and add

[8] Fei Kun, *Liang-ch'i-man-chih* (The Historical Memoranda of Fei Kun) (*Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* [The Chih-pu-tsu Library Series] [hereafter *CPT*] ed.; 1777), 5.3a.

[9] Ts'ai T'ao, *T'ieh-wei-shan Ts'ung-t'an* (Occasional Notes of Ts'ai T'ao) (*CPT* ed.), 4.3b.

[10] Tseng Kung, *Yüan-feng Lei-kao* (Collected Papers of Tseng Kung) (*SPPY* ed.), 31.5b–6a.

[11] Chao Ju-t'eng, *Yung-chai Chi* (Collected Papers of Chao Ju-t'eng) (*Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu Shan-pen Ts'ung-shu* [Good Editions from the Four Treasuries Series] [hereafter *SKSP*] ed.), 4.14b.

[12] Su, *Chia-yu Chi*, 8.1a–4a.

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their posthumous name, but for ordinary men omit honorary title, family name, and posthumous name.[13]

But this passive emphasis on ethical conduct was not compatible with the reforming zeal of active classicists who wished to reconstruct Chinese society completely in the image of the Three Dynasties. The reason is not difficult to find. The moral-didactic emphasis on means placed severe limitations on the kind of measures that could be used by classicist radicals in seeking to gain their fundamentalist ends. The antipathy of the eleventh-century "reformer" Wang An-shih and his followers to *The Spring and Autumn Annals* is indicative.[14] Soon after he was appointed assisting civil councilor of state in 1069 Wang inaugurated a comprehensive program of innovative legislation. A complete evaluation of the ensuing controversies would have to include a comparative analysis of the interrelationships between ideology and family, class, status-group, and regional interests in the recurring power struggles of the Sung bureaucracy. But differing attitudes toward the past were important features in the various arguments for and against the new laws. "Revival of antiquity" played an integral role in the charter myth[15] accepted and used by the constellation of power-seeking groups that linked their fortunes with those of the great reformer. Although the separate laws of the reform period were seldom tied to specific classical precedents, Wang An-shih used the classics, particularly *The Rites of Chou,* as a justification for his holistic social plan and as a defense against criticism directed at any of its constituent parts. One section of the opposition based its case partially on *The Spring and Autumn Annals* and argued merely that the methods of Wang and his associates were

[13] Quoted in William Theodore de Bary, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York, 1960), 509. The moral-didactic and essentially unhistorical nature of Chu Hsi's views on history has been noted by several authors. See Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography,* 14; and Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755–805," in Arthur F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford, 1960), 90–91. De Bary argues that both fundamentalism and historical-mindedness were basic features of Neo-Confucianism. "Some Common Tendencies in Neo-Confucianism," 42–43. One thesis of this paper is that this fundamentalism was frequently in conflict with at least one aspect of historical-mindedness before Chu Hsi's compromise became official orthodoxy.

[14] Candidates for the "doctorate in letters" (*chin-shih*) degree were not allowed to select *The Spring and Autumn Annals* as a classic on which to be tested during the reform period (1069–85) after 1071, and the postreform period (1093–1125) after 1096. Li Tao, *Hsü Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien* (Collected Data for a Continuation of *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government)* (hereafter *HCP*) (Taipeh, 1964), 220.1a–3a; Yang Chung-Liang, *Hsü Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien Chi-shih-pen-mo* (Topical Arrangement of the *Collected Data for a Continuation of "The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government"*) (hereafter *CPPM*) (*Kuang-hsü* 19 [1893] ed.), 74.1a, 100.11b–12a; Huang I-chou *et al., Hsü Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien Shih-pu* (A Reconstruction of the Lost Sections of *Collected Data for a Continuation of "The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government"*) (hereafter *HCPSP*) (in *HCP*), 14.9a; Hung Mai, *Jung-chai Hsü-pi* (A Continuation of the Occasional Notes of Hung Mai) (*Kuo-hsüeh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu* [Basic Sinological Series] [hereafter *KHCPTS*] ed.; Shanghai, 1937), 145. See also James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China* (Cambridge, 1959), 32–33. The moral-didactic concern with means also partially explains the opposition to the new laws of such early supporters of Wang An-shih as Ou-yang Hsiu, the Su brothers, and Ch'eng I.

[15] I adopt the term "charter myth" from Barrington Moore, Jr., *Political Power and Social Theory* (New York, 1965), 10–11.

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incompatible with the norms of benevolent government. But the irreconcilable opponents of the new laws combined this moral-didactic attack with a far more effective technique of criticism—historical analogism.[16] Such statesmen as Ssu-ma Kuang, Chang Fang-p'ing, and Liu Chih tried to use principles abstracted from historical models to show that many of the innovations were either unworkable or would lead to undesirable side effects not anticipated by the planners.[17]

Historical analogism was a logical extension of moral didacticism, and elements of both approaches can be found in the works of most Chinese historians. But the novel emphasis on the former in the "new history" of the T'ang and Sung periods represented a radical reorientation that received its initial impetus during the intellectual ferment of the half century following the rebellion of An Lu-shan.[18] When Liu Tsung-yüan and Tu Yu substituted environment and continuous and cumulative institutional change for morality and a static and absolute utopian antiquity,[19] they laid the basis for a shift of the focus of didactic historiography from the ethics of the individual to the operation of social institutions. This gave rise to the view that the comparative study of similar historical phenomena could provide an accurate guide in evaluating contemporary policy. The historical analogist did not deny the value of the classics but argued that the Confucian canon and history dealt with two different spheres of human activity. Ch'en Kuan advised Emperor Hui-tsung (1100–25) to pattern his rule on the past through the study of the classics and history. According to the early twelfth-century statesman, the former are learned in order to rectify character and the latter consulted in order to respond to change. Since transformations in the affairs of the world are infinite and the facts of antiquity are not known in detail, a comprehensive knowledge of history is essential in planning current policy.[20]

From the eighth through the thirteenth centuries, emperors, statesmen, and historians avowed that history provides the means to understand the success and failure of different forms of governmental organization,[21] the

[16] I owe the adoption of this term to suggestions made by my colleagues Martin Wolfe and Michael Zuckerman during a luncheon when parts of this paper were presented to the history faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

[17] For examples, see my "Classical Chinese Monetary Analysis and Economic Policy in T'ang-Northern Sung China," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, no. 13 (1968): 75–76, 79.

[18] This has been brilliantly described in Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism," 77–114.

[19] *Ibid.*, 99–104.

[20] *LTTY*, 8.2b–3a.

[21] *Ibid.*, 6.13b–14a, 167.8a–13b; (author unknown), *Huang-Sung Chung-hsing Liang-ch'ao Sheng-cheng* (Imperial Policy Chronicle of the Two Restoration Reigns of the Sung Dynasty) (hereafter *Sheng-cheng*) (Taipeh, 1967), 8.3a, 20.9b; Li Hsin-ch'uan, *Chien-yen Yi-lai Hsi-nien Yao-lu* (Chronicle of the First Reign of the Southern Sung [1127–62]) (hereafter *Yao-lu*) (Taipeh, 1968), 36.3a; Hsiung K'e, *Chung-hsing Hsiao-chi* (A Short Record of the Restoration of the Sung Dynasty) (hereafter *HC*) (Taipeh, 1968), 9.3b; *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju" (Education), 7.1a–1b, 21a–22a; *CPPM*, 92.5a-5b; *HCP*, 407.8a; Ts'ui Ju-wen, *Chung-hui Chi* (Collected Papers of Ts'ui Ju-wen) (hereafter Ts'ui Ju-wen) (*SKSP* ed.), 7.23b–24a.

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rise and fall of dynasties,[22] the evolution and transformation of laws and institutions,[23] the advantage and injury resulting from specific measures,[24] and the nature of human behavior.[25] The moral-didactic view that periods of confusion, foreign conquest, and decline of imperial authority were unworthy of study and emulation was attacked on the grounds that it was as important to understand what had failed as it was to know what had succeeded. All periods of Chinese history should be examined with care, including the disreputable Three Kingdoms, Tsin, and Five Dynasties.[26] But eleventh- and twelfth-century writers particularly emphasized the necessity for a detailed knowledge of the T'ang (A.D. 618–906). Its laws and institutions were adopted by the founders of the Sung (960–1279), its history was recorded in more detail than that of earlier times, and the customs of its people were closest to those of the subjects of Chao K'uang-yin (960–75) and his successors.[27] In the late 1060s Chang Fang-p'ing summarized the prevailing historical-analogist position.

> Hsün-tzu said: "There are a hundred Sage Kings. Which one should I use as a model?" The only remaining traces of the administration of the ancient kings are descriptions of the excellent aspects of their rule. Records of the political institutions of Yü and T'ang [respective founders of the Hsia and Shang dynasties] have been transmitted, but not as many as those of Chou. This is not because good government was absent during the earlier period but because it was a long time past. If the events being transmitted occurred a long time ago, then discussions of them will be sketchy, but accounts of recent history are detailed. That there are still rulers and ministers in this modern age who must prattle about Yao and Shun or praise Yü and Chi [their respective advisers] is the result of the sophistry of old-fashioned classicists [*ju*] and is neither timely nor useful. In my humble opinion, during the three centuries of T'ang rule there was good government and disorder, gain and loss. When the present dynasty established its governmental organization, it based its laws and institutions on those of the T'ang. Therefore, from the point of view of the contemporary political system, the T'ang is the closest. . . . I desire to have permission to have outlines composed of matters recorded in the biographies and annals of T'ang history, which may be incorporated into present policy and benefit the way of good administration. . . . This was also the intention of Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o in borrowing Ch'in as analogous to Han.[28]

This was the view of history that was dominant among policy makers during most years of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. It was reflected in the evolution of political and educational institutions, in the development

[22] *LTTY*, 8.6b–7b; Li Yu, *Sung-ch'ao Shih-shih* (Facts about the Sung Dynasty) (Taipeh, 1967), 3.11a.

[23] *LTTY*, 167.8a–13b.

[24] *Ibid.*, 115.16b; Li Yu, *Sung-ch'ao Shih-shih*, 3.11a; *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 5.7b–8a.

[25] *LTTY*, 8.6b–7b.

[26] *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 4.2a–2b, 5.21b, "Hsüan-chü," 5.7b–8a; *HCP*, 105.3b. Three Kingdoms, A.D. 221–65; Tsin, 265–419; Five Dynasties, 907–60.

[27] *LTTY*, 6.13b–14a, 8.1b–2a, 6b–7b, 7b–8a; *HCP*, 407.8a; *CPPM*, 92.5a–5b; *Sheng-cheng*, 63.3a–4b; Tseng, *Yüan-feng Lei-kao*, 9.1a–2b.

[28] *LTTY*, 6.13b–14a.

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of new genres of historical writing, and in the transmission, refinement, and utilization of the propositions of Chinese social and economic theory.

HISTORY CAME TO HAVE a significant place in the training of present and future emperors, and the application of historical experience to the determination of practical policy was closely related to the development of the imperial seminar. The importance of the education of the ruler had a hallowed place in the Confucian tradition. From 51 B.C., when Han Hsüan-ti (74–49 B.C.) ordered palace lectures on the Five Classics,[29] to the establishment of the imperial seminar in 1022, noted scholars were frequently asked to lecture on the Confucian canon or to read history before the throne.[30] A permanent system of continuing education for the sovereign, however, was a creation of the reign of Sung Jen-tsung (1022–63). When the young emperor succeeded his father at the age of twelve,[31] it was necessary to make special arrangements for his instruction in the imperial palace.[32] This was accomplished by assigning two lecturers-in-waiting and two readers-in-waiting to lecture on the classics or to read history at a designated time and place.[33] But the real innovation was the continued regular participation of

[29] Chiang T'ing-hsi *et al.*, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng* (An Imperial Encyclopedia) (Peking, 1934), "Li-i Tien," 304.40a.

[30] The precedent of Hsüan-ti was cited when Chang-ti (A.D. 75–88) summoned scholars to lecture on the classics in A.D. 79. *Ibid.* In 715 T'ang Hsüan-tsung (712–55) complained that there were matters he had doubts about when reading history books, and he appointed two readers-in-waiting. Wang P'u, *T'ang Hui-yao* (A Digest of Governmental Institutions of the T'ang Dynasty) (Taipeh, 1963), 510; Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* (An Encyclopedia of Institutions) (Shanghai, 1936), 491. In 962 and 970 Sung T'ai-tsu (960–75) summoned scholars to lecture on the *I-ching* (Classic of Changes). Chiang, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng*, 304.40a.

[31] T'o T'o *et al.* *Sung-shih* (History of the Sung Dynasty) (hereafter *SS*), in *Er-shih-ssu Shih* (Twenty-Four Histories) (Shanghai, 1884), 9.1b; *HCP*, 98.3b.

[32] The heir apparent was housed in a separate palace and had his own staff, including tutors. Protocol dictated that an emperor must reside in the imperial palace and be served by officials of appropriate rank, who were clearly different from the attendants of a prince.

[33] *CPPM*, 29.1a; *HCP*, 99.12a. Initially the sessions were held in the western pavilion (*hsi-wu* or *hsi-ko*) of the imperial audience chamber (*Ch'ung-cheng Tien*). They were later transferred to the *Er-ying* court (*Er-ying Ko*) of the imperial audience chamber. Chiang, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng*, 304.40a; *CPPM*, 29.1a–1b; *HCP*, 99.12a, 13a; Meng Yüan-lao, *Tung-ching Meng-hua-lu Chu* (An Annotated Edition of "Dreams of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital") (Taipeh, 1963), 41. The imperial seminar (*Ching-yen*) met on even-numbered days of the month (Chiang, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng*, 304.40a; *CPPM*, 29.1a–b; *HCP*, 99.12a, 13a) in two terms—from the second lunar month (starting between the third week of February and third week of March of the Western calendar) to the fifth day of the fifth lunar month (varying between the last week in May and the third week in June), and from the eighth lunar month (starting between the third week of August to the third week of September) to the winter solstice (about December 21). Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, 491. The titles reader-in-waiting (*shih-tu*) and lecturer-in-waiting (*shih-chiang*) seem to have originated with T'ang Hsüan-tsung's appointments in 715. Wang, *T'ang Hui-yao*, 510; Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, 491. A reader-in-waiting was appointed under Sung T'ai-tsung (975–97). Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, 491. In 999 the titles Han-lin lecturers-in-waiting (*Han-lin shih-chiang hsüeh-shih*) and Han-lin readers-in-waiting (*Han-lin shih-tu hsüeh-shih*) were created. Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, 491; Huang Tsun, *Han-yüan I-shih* (Neglected Facts about the Han-lin Academy) (*Hsüeh-hai lei-pien* [Sea of Scholarship Series] [hereafter *HHLP*] ed.; Taipeh, 1964), 4a. The incumbents apparently lectured and read on occasion for Chen-tsung (997–1022). *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.3b–5a. From the establishment of the imperial seminar in 1022 through the Southern Sung the readerships and lectureships in the academies must be clearly distinguished from those in the imperial seminar. The former had no necessary rela-

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the emperor after he took over personal control of the government upon the death of the empress dowager in 1033.[34] This marked the beginning of the *Ching-yen,* or imperial seminar, which was to last for nearly nine hundred years.[35]

The size of the sessions increased rapidly. In 1058 Ou-yang Hsiu declined an appointment as reader partly on the grounds that there were now fourteen attendants assigned to the seminar, ten of them readers in history.[36] And from the beginning the chief and assisting councilors of state were frequently invited to attend the discussions and often participated in them.[37] Appointment as reader or lecturer facilitated advancement to high office. Nearly fifty per cent of a sample of seventy officials assigned to lecture or read between 1022 and 1190 rose to positions entitling them to a place in the council of state.[38] Participants in the seminar often directly affected the ruler's decisions. The debates between Wang An-shih and Ssu-ma Kuang in 1068–69, when the two men served respectively as lecturer-in-waiting and reader-in-waiting, probably played an important role in Shen-tsung's (1067–85) determination to give An-shih the authority to inaugurate a comprehensive reform program.[39] During the Sung period the lectureships and readerships were normally concurrent appointments of officials holding a variety of other offices—drafting officials, academicians of one of the three institutes, or policy critics.[40] By the Ming dynasty they were selected exclusively from the Han-lin academy. And after the abolition of the secretariat by Chu Yüan-chang (1368–99) in 1380, the grand secretaries, who comprised the informal "inner court" (*nei-ko*)—the *de facto* highest advisory organ of the state—were chosen primarily from the members of the imperial seminar.[41]

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the meetings were organized

tion to this institution; the latter were concurrent assignments (that is, *chien shih-tu* or *shih-chiang*) of officials holding a variety of positions, which could coincidentally be memberships in an academy. Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao,* 491. Readerships and lectureships in the Han-lin academy became synonymous with membership in the imperial seminar only during the late Yüan and Ming dynasties. Chiang, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng,* 304.40b–41a.

[34] *SS,* 10.2b; *CPPM,* 29.3b–12a.

[35] Chiang, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng,* 304.40a–43a.

[36] Ou-yang Hsiu, *Ou-yang Wen-chung Kung-chi* (Collected Papers of Ou-yang Hsiu) (hereafter Ou-yang Hsiu), "Piao-tsou Shu-ch'i Liu-ssu Chi" (Collection of Memorials and Correspondence) (*KHCPTS* ed.), vol. 10, *chüan* ("roll") 2, pp. 112–14; *CPPM,* 29.11a–11b; *HCP,* 187.4a–5a.

[37] *CPPM,* 29.1b–3a; *HCP,* 99.13a, 102.3a, 104.9b, 106.6a, 471.1a.

[38] This statement is based on an investigation of the presence or absence in Hsü Tzu-ming, *Sung Tsai-fu Pien-nien-lu* (A Chronological Record of Sung Councilors of State) (Taipeh, 1967) of the names of seventy readers or lecturers cited in the following sources: *SHY,* "Chih-kuan" (Bureaucratic Organization), 6.70a–73a, "Ch'ung-ju," 117.1b–27a; *CPPM,* 29.1a–12a, 53.1a–9b, 92.1a–12b; *HCP,* 471.1a; *Sheng-cheng,* 3.6b–7b, 20.20b, 63.4b; *Yao-lu,* 171.3b; *LTTY,* 8.1b–2a.

[39] *HCP,* 206.18a, 210.17b–19b; *CPPM,* 53.2b–8a; *HCPSP,* 2.12b–13a, 3A.8a–9a, 3B.9b, 10a–10b, 6.6a–11a.

[40] Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao,* 491.

[41] For the selection of members of the imperial seminar from the Han-lin academy, see Chiang, *Ku-chin T'u-shu Chi-ch'eng,* 304.40b–41a. For the abolishment of the secretariat and the evolution of the inner court, see Charles O. Hucker, *The Traditional Chinese State in Ming Times* (Tucson, 1961), 52–58. For the relationship of the imperial seminar to the grand secretaries, see Takayoshi Yamamoto, *Chukoku Seiji-seido no kenkyū* (A Study of Political System in China) (Kyoto, 1968), 404–08.

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around expositions on the meaning and application of passages taken from assigned classics, and around readings of specified histories from beginning to end. The latter were frequently interrupted by questions posed by the emperor on the relationship between the events being described and general principles of government or specific problems of current policy. In 1133 a reader complained that only three of the 294 chapters of Ssu-ma Kuang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* had been completed since the imperial seminar opened in 1129. He pointed out that it would never be finished at that rate and proposed that "only those matters that are of benefit to the way of good government be read."[42] The discussions interjected into the chronological presentations of the readers were concerned primarily with general principles of politics—the appropriate relationship between the ruler and his advisers, the correct attitude toward social welfare, and so forth. There were exceptions. In 1092, when a reader reached the entry on the establishment of the voucher laws in *The Precious Lessons of Jen-tsung*, the chief councilor, Lü Ta-fang, used the occasion to trace the history of the practice of paying for military provisions with paper claims on government monopolized items, and he made positive recommendations for improvements in the system.[43] But by this time "presentational historical models" (*chin-ku-shih*) were more closely related to specific problems of contemporary policy.

"Historical models" first appears as a category of history writing in the "Bibliographic Monograph" of the *History of the Sui Dynasty*, which was written between 641 and 656.[44] The increasing importance of this type of composition was closely related to the development of institutionalized means for the inclusion of practical applications of history in the education of the ruler and his advisers. This genre contained three per cent of the history titles listed in the Sui history, five per cent in the T'ang, and nine per cent in the Sung.[45] *The Mirror of T'ang* presented by the reader Fan Tsu-yü in 1086 provided the pattern for the presentational historical models. It was composed of selected events from T'ang history arranged in chronological order, with each item followed by the author's analytical commentary.[46]

[42] Ts'ui Ju-wen, 7.23b–24a. According to *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.1a; *Sheng-cheng*, 3.6b–7b; *Yao-lu*, 14.3b; and *HC*, 3.7a, reading of *The Comprehensive Mirror* began in the third lunar month of 1128. Ts'ui Ju-wen is either mistaken or merely referring to the amount read since he was appointed a reader. It was apparently completed by 1135 since *The Precious Lessons of the Three Reigns* (see note 53 below) was assigned in the intercalary second lunar month of this year. *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.3a; *Yao-lu*, 86.12b.

[43] *HCP*, 471.1a.

[44] Wei Cheng *et al.*, *Sui-shu* (History of the Sui Dynasty) (*po-na* ed.), 33.10b–11b. For the dates of this work, see L. S. Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty," in his *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge, 1961), 122–23.

[45] Wei, *Sui-shu, chüan* 33; Ou-yang Hsiu *et al.*, *T'ang-shu* (History of the T'ang Dynasty) (*Er-shih-ssu Shih* ed.), *chüan* 57–60; *SS, chüan* 202–09.

[46] Fan Tsu-yü, *T'ang-chien* (The Mirror of T'ang) (*KHCPTS* ed.) The date is from the preface (pp. i–ii). The author had previously collaborated with Ssu-ma Kuang in the compilation of *The Comprehensive Mirror* and was given primary responsibility for preparing the

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In 1087 Su Sung reiterated the earlier request of Chang Fang-p'ing[47] for the regular presentation of systematically selected examples of historical events that could be compared to current governmental practices or problems. The mandate instituting his recommendation stipulated that each member of the imperial seminar, on days when he was not lecturing or reading, should write up two historical models chosen from the histories of the Han and T'ang dynasties that might benefit the forms of public policy.[48] More recent, as well as less reputable, periods of Chinese history were soon added, and this custom continued, with the exception of periods of classicist administration, until the end of the Southern Sung.[49] These presentational historical models consisted of quotations or paraphrases of one or more descriptions of events recorded in various histories, followed by a commentary abstracting general principles and applying them to matters of immediate concern. One composed by Liu K'e-chuang in 1261 is typical. He summarized an essay written by Tseng Kung in the middle of the eleventh century entitled "Saving the Victims of Natural Disaster," which described the relief of the flood-striken populace of Ho-pei. He then compared this account with the circumstances accompanying recent devastating floods in the southern part of modern Kiangsu province and demonstrated how the principles abstracted from the description of the former event could be applied to the formulation of measures to ameliorate present difficulties.[50] An analysis of a sample of thirty-three items prepared between 1087 and 1262 illustrates the types of issues treated in this manner: nine on foreign policy and military strategy, eight on recruitment of officials and personnel administration, seven on economic policy and social welfare, five on the organization, prerogatives, and obligations of the imperial establishment, three on the mechanism of policy criticism, and one on education.[51]

The histories assigned to readers were normally limited to a small number of works that were reread during each reign. *The Precious Lessons of the*

materials for the section on T'ang history. Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism: Liu Chih-chi and Ssu-ma Kuang," in Beasley and Pulleyblank, *Historians of China and Japan*, 155.

[47] *LTTY*, 6.13b–14a.

[48] *HCP*, 407.8a; *CPPM*, 92.5a–5b.

[49] Decrees continuing the system were issued by the Southern Sung Emperors Kao-tsung (1127–62) in 1130 (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.1a–1b; *Sheng-cheng*, 8.3a, 17a–17b; *Yao-lu*, 36.3a, 39.8a; *HC*, 9.3b) and 1136 (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.3b; *Yao-lu*, 104.9b), and Ning-tsung (1194–1224) in 1195 (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.21a–22a). The continuity of the system is also evidenced by the presentational historical models preserved in the collected papers cited in note 51 below.

[50] Liu K'e-chuang, *Hou-ts'un Hsien-sheng Ta-ch'üan-chi* (Collected Papers of Liu K'e-chuang) (hereafter Liu K'e-chuang) (*SPTK* ed.), 87.2b–4b; Tseng, *Yüan-feng Lei-kao*, 9.10b–14b; (author unknown), *Sung-chi San-ch'ao Cheng-yao* (Chronicle of the Main Policies of the Last Three Reigns of the Sung Dynasty) (*Pi-chi Hsiao-shuo Ta-kuan Hsü-pien* ed.), 3.3b.

[51] Liu K'e-chuang, 86.1a–87.13b; Wei Po, *Ting-yen Lei-kao* (Collected Papers of Wei Po) (*SKSP* ed.), 1.22b–36a; Chen Te-hsiu, *Hsi-shan Wen-chi* (Collected Papers of Chen Te-hsiu) (*SPTK* ed.), *chüan* 5; Lou Yüeh, *Kung-k'uei Chi* (Collected Papers of Lou Yüeh) (*SPTK* ed.), *chüan* 50; Chang Hsiao-hsiang, *Yü-hu Chü-shih Wen-chi* (Collected Papers of Chang Hsiao-hsiang) (*SPTK* ed.), 17.1a–2b; Ch'en Fu-liang, *Chih-chai Wen-chi* (Collected Papers of Ch'en Fu-liang) (*SPTK* ed.), 28.1a–2b; Wei Liao-weng, *Hao-shan Ch'üan-chi* (Collected Papers of Wei Liao-weng) (*SPTK* ed.), 22.1a–12b; *LTTY*, 7.5a–9b.

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Three Reigns compiled by Lü I-chien in 1032[52] was repeated for most eleventh- and twelfth-century emperors.[53] In 1092 this was supplemented by *The Precious Lessons of Jen-tsung.*[54] After Shen-tsung, Ssu-ma Kuang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* became a standard text,[55] and *The Collected Memorials of Lu Chih* was added by Hsiao-tsung (1162–89).[56] But at various times other works were read, including *The Historical Records*[57] and the dynastic histories of the Former Han,[58] Latter Han,[59] and T'ang.[60] The authors of the presentational historical models drew upon a much wider range of materials—dynastic histories, reign histories, veritable records, daily records, digests of governmental institutions, imperial policy chronicles, collected papers of individuals, collected memorials, *The Comprehensive Mirror, Collected Data for a Continuation of "The Comprehensive Mirror,"* and *The Mirror of T'ang.*[61] Events were selected from all periods of Chinese history, including the very recent past.[62] The composition

[52] *SS*, 10.1a.

[53] Lü I-chien, *San-ch'ao Pao-hsün* (The Precious Lessons of the Three Reigns [960–1022]), which is no longer extant, was read for Jen-tsung (1022–63) (*HCP*, 124.16a; *CPPM*, 29.5a–5b), Kao-tsung (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.3a; *Yao-lu*, 86.12b; *Sheng-cheng*, 17.17b), and Hsiao-tsung (1162–89) (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.9a; *Yao-lu*, 200.19a; *Sheng-cheng*, 92.2a–2b).

[54] *HCP*, 471.1a. *Jen-tsung Pao-hsün* (The Precious Lessons of Jen-tsung) is no longer extant.

[55] *CPPM*, 53.3b, 5b, 8a; *HCPSP*, 3A.3a, 6.6a–6b; *HCP*, 210.17b. It was subsequently read for Kao-tsung (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.1a; *Yao-lu*, 14.3b; *HC*, 3.7a; *Sheng-cheng*, 3.6b–7a; Ts'ui Ju-wen, 7.23b–24a), Hsiao-tsung (*Sheng-cheng*, 57.3a–3b), and Kuang-tsung (1189–94) (*SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.17b). There are several extant editions. The one cited here is Ssu-ma Kuang, *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien Chin-chu* (Modern Annotated Edition of *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government)* (hereafter *T'ung-chien)* (Taipeh, 1966).

[56] *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.14b; *Sheng-cheng*, 63.4b. In the mid-eleventh century Tseng Kung recommended the work to the emperor. *LTTY*, 8.1b–2a. There are several extant editions. The one cited here is Lu Chih, *Lu Hsüan-kung Tsou-yi* (The Collected Memorials of Lu Chih) (*KHCPTS* ed.). An excellent biography of the T'ang statesman is Denis Twitchett, "Lu Chih (754–805): Imperial Adviser and Court Official," in Wright and Twitchett, *Confucian Personalities*, 84–122.

[57] *HCP*, 199.16a–17a; *CPPM*, 53.1a–2a.

[58] *HCP*, 155.6a; *CPPM*, 29.7a.

[59] *HCP*, 146.16b, 288.9a–9b; *CPPM*, 29.5b–6a, 12a, 53.8b–9a.

[60] *HCP*, 104.9b, 120.16a; *CPPM*, 29.2a–2b, 4a, 4b. *HCP*, 116.3a has *T'ang Shih* (T'ang Poetry), which is probably a copyist's error. These four histories—*Shih-chi* (The Historical Records), *Ch'ien-Han-shu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty), *Hou-Han-shu* (History of the Latter Han Dynasty), and *T'ang-shu* (History of the T'ang Dynasty)—are available in *Er-shih-ssu Shih*.

[61] These are some of the sources of the presentational historical models preserved in the works cited in note 51 above. The compilations of official historiography—*cheng-shih* (dynastic histories), *kuo-shih* (reign histories), *shih-lu* (veritable records), *jih-li* (daily records), and *hui-yao* (digests of governmental institutions)—are treated in Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, 86–105; and L. S. Yang, "The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography," in Beasley and Pulleyblank, *Historians of China and Japan*, 44–59. See also Bernard S. Solomon, *The Veritable Record of the T'ang Emperor Shun-tsung* (Cambridge, 1955), xxiii–xxvi. For a discussion of the collected papers of individuals (*wen-chi*), including abstracts of a selection of documents from them on economic matters, see Robert Hartwell, *A Guide to Sources of Chinese Economic History, A.D. 618–1368* (Chicago, 1964). The large number of such compilations prepared during the Sung dynasty was due partly to official encouragement, which, in turn, was inspired by the prevalence of historical analogism described in this paper. Rewards were regularly granted to survivors who presented the collected papers of their deceased fathers, grandfathers, or even husbands. *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 5.22b, 23a, 24a. The imperial policy chronicle (*sheng-cheng lu*), *The Comprehensive Mirror*, and *The Mirror of T'ang* (*T'ang-chien*) are discussed below.

[62] The presentational historical models composed between 1087 and 1262, and preserved in the sources cited in note 51 above, used events of the Former and Latter Han (202 B.C.–A.D. 220),

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of many of these works was directly related to the incorporation of historical analogism into the education of the sovereign.[63]

The close connection between the imperial seminar and new genres of historical writing is most clearly illustrated by Ssu-ma Kuang's compilation of *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government,* an annalistic history of China from 403 B.C. to A.D. 959. Analyses of the general principles illustrated by the recorded information are frequently inserted in the narrative. For example, after an entry for the eleventh lunar month of 834 that describes the respective "factions" (*p'eng-tang*) of Li Tsung-min and Li Te-yü, Ssu-ma Kuang placed a short essay on the causes and effects of bureaucratic factionalism.[64] When the complete work was presented to the throne in 1084, it contained an "Examination of Differences" (*K'ao-yi*)—an innovation in Chinese historiography, that evaluated sources and explained the criteria used in selecting information.[65]

The Comprehensive Mirror is rightly considered one of the greatest achievements of Chinese historiography, and its composition was closely associated with the operation of the imperial seminar. In 1065 Ssu-ma Kuang was appointed reader-in-waiting.[66] The previous year he had presented Ying-tsung (1063–67) with a short book entitled *The Chart of Successive Years,*[67] in which he had already adopted the practice used in the imperial seminar, and later in *The Comprehensive Mirror,* of interrupting the exposition with analytical commentary. Other events that led to the compilation of his great history also occurred during his assignment as reader. In 1066 he received an imperial mandate ordering him to "compile the records of events of rulers and ministers in successive ages,"[68] and the following year, when he was commanded to read the initial chapters of this work in the imperial seminar, it was granted the title *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government.*[69]

The education of imperial princes was managed in much the same way as that of the emperor. Shen-tsung created the offices of reader-in-waiting

Three Kingdoms, Tsin, T'ang periods, as well as the reigns of the Sung emperors T'ai-tsu, T'ai-tsung, Chen-tsung, Jen-tsung, Kao-tsung, and Hsiao-tsung.

[63] The close relation between the education of the emperor (*ti-hsüeh*) and the achievements of Sung historiography was first noted in Naitō Torajiro, *Shina Shigaku-shi* (History of Chinese Historiography) in *Naitō Konan Zenshu* (The Complete Works of Naitō Torajiro) (Tokyo, 1969), 11: 204–05.

[64] *T'ung-chien,* vol. 13, *chüan* 245, pp. 348–49.

[65] The best discussion of *The Comprehensive Mirror* is Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism," 151–59. Pulleyblank does not, however, deal with the connection between this work and the imperial seminar or education of the emperor. The sections of *The Comprehensive Mirror* on the Three Kingdoms have been translated by Achilles Fang, *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms (220–265)* (Cambridge, 1952, 1965), 2 vols.

[66] *HCP,* 206.18a.

[67] Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism," 153. *Li-nien t'u* (The Chart of Successive Years) is no longer extant as a separate work. It was incorporated into Ssu-ma Kuang, *Chi-ku lu* (A Chronicle of Ancient Practices) (*SPTK* ed.).

[68] Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism," 153; Li Yu, *Sung-ch'ao Shih-shih,* 3.11a.

[69] Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism," 154; *CPPM,* 53.3a–3b.

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Fig. 1. A portrait of Ssu-ma Kuang at the time of his appointment in 1086 as Left executive of the Department of Ministries. Photograph: Ssu-ma Kuang, *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien* (The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Peking, 1957), frontispiece.

and lecturer-in-waiting for the heir apparent,[70] and both the curriculum and the pedagogical technique closely followed that of the imperial seminar.[71] The careful attention given to the education of the prince and the sovereign was partly due to the realization by scholar-officials of the need for creating a bond of shared values and modes of political analysis between the ruler and

[70] *SHY*, "Chih-kuan," 7.22b; Ch'en Mu, *Tung-kung Pei-lan* (A Look at the Eastern Palace) (*HHLP* ed.), 2.3b–5b.

[71] Ch'en Mu, *Tung-Kung Pei-lan*, 2.3b–5b; *SHY*, "Chih-kuan," 7.24b–26a, 32b, 33b; Wu, *Neng-kai-chai Man-lu*, 13.6a.

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his advisors. And the historical analogism taught by the officers of imperial instruction was also a central part of the civil servant's education, recruitment, and technique of policy formulation.

FROM THEIR ESTABLISHMENT on a regular basis in 622 A.D.[72] the civil service examinations had a decisive influence on Chinese education and intellectual life. Recent scholars have emphasized the role the examinations played in facilitating social mobility. There is no doubt that this was an important effect of the system. Chinese of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, placed far more emphasis on these tests as a pedagogical device—an incentive to learn what the state deemed desirable.[73] It is therefore not surprising that the form and content of these tests varied with changes in the ideological orientation of different administrations. Throughout most of this period, however, history was an essential subject in the preparation of aspiring candidates.

During the Sung the departmental examination for the "doctorate in letters" (*chin-shih*) was normally divided into four "sessions" (*ch'ang*). Before 1071 the candidate was required to devote the first session to the composition of a "poetic description" (*fu*) and a "piece of poetry" (*shih*) on assigned topics, the second to completing from memory ten passages from *The Analects of Confucius* and to summarizing the meaning of ten others selected from either *The Spring and Autumn Annals* or *The Record of Ritual,* the third to writing a "discussion" (*lun*) on a given topic, and the fourth to preparing solutions to five complex "policy problems" (*ts'e*).[74] In 1071 Wang An-shih's recommendations for changing the system were adopted, and the tests of poetry, memory, and elucidation were replaced by two sessions requiring the composition of essays on the "general meaning" (*ta-yi*) of prescribed passages in the classics.[75] This remained the general format until the end of the dynasty, with the exception that poetry replaced one of the examinations on classics between 1086 and 1093[76] and during most of the Southern Sung.[77] The preliminary prefectural tests followed the departmental model, but the final palace examination, which determined

[72] Ssu-yü Teng, "Chinese Influence on the Western Examination System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 7 (1943): 270.

[73] The arguments of most of these authors have been conveniently assembled in Johanna M. Menzel, ed., *The Chinese Civil Service* (Boston, 1963). Karl Wittfogel is nearly alone, and I believe he is correct, in stressing the function of the examinations in indoctrinating the candidates with the prevailing social philosophy of the bureaucracy. "Mobility in an Oriental Despotism," 63. This is not incompatible with the thesis that these tests also served as a mechanism for facilitating social mobility and as a means of ascertaining whether or not the aspirant was capable of performing his official duties.

[74] E. A. Kracke, Jr., *Civil Service in Early Sung China, 960–1067* (Cambridge, 1953), 62.

[75] *CPPM,* 74.1a; *HCP,* 220.1a–3a.

[76] *SHY,* "Hsüan-chü," 3.48b–49b, 55a; *HCPSP,* 10.4a.

[77] The system of 1086–93 was reinstituted by Kao-tsung in 1127. *SHY,* "Hsüan-chü," 4.17a–17b. Reforms during the remainder of the Southern Sung seem to have been limited to changes in the number and order of sessions. See note 81 below.

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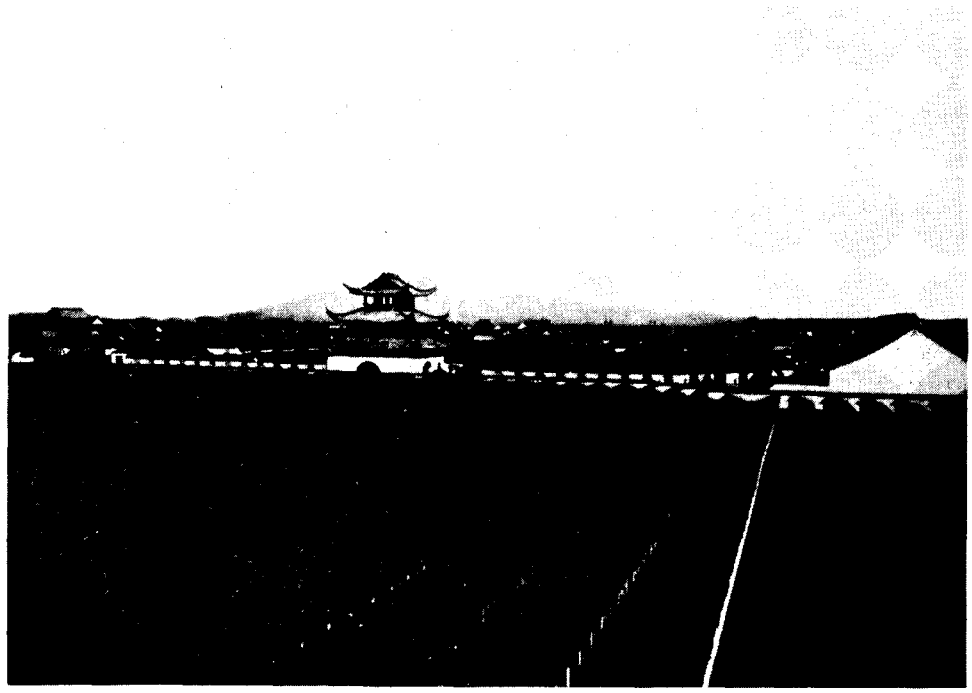


Fig. 2. Sheds containing the examination halls to accommodate twenty thousand students, Nanking, China (ca. 1902). Photograph: Captain F. Brinkley, *China* (Boston and Tokyo, 1902), 11: facing p. 272.

the ultimate rank of the successful candidates, was based on policy problems.[78]

The order of each part of the examination was also altered from time to time. This was particularly important since the first sessions decided whether or not the aspirant passed, while the others were used as the basis for placement in the final list of those who succeeded.[79] Between 1044 and 1048, during the period of reforms initiated by Fan Chung-yen, the number of sessions was reduced to three—policy questions based on the classics and history placed first, followed by a discussion and poetry.[80] And in 1184 the emperor adopted Ni Ssu's recommendation that the initial tests be devoted to discussions and policy questions based on topics selected from all periods of Chinese history, not just from the Han and T'ang.[81] The exami-

[78] See Kracke, *Civil Service*, 62; *SS*, 295.19a; *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 5.7b–8a.

[79] *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 5.7b–8a; *LTTY*, 164.10b–12a, 167.3a–7a.

[80] James T. C. Liu, "An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago, 1957), 108, 112–15; *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 3.23b–30a, 31a–31b.

[81] *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 5.7b–8a. Changes in the order and number of sessions were frequent. For example, in 1143 the number of sessions was reduced to three—one on the general meaning of the classics, one on poetry, and one including a discussion and policy problems. *Ibid.*, 4.27b. In 1145 the three sessions were changed to one on the general meaning of the classics and poetry, one including a discussion, and one on policy problems. *Ibid.*, 4.28b. The reduction to three sessions seems to have been owing to an attempt to be consistent with the imperial university's practice of having a cycle of three examinations each month, one at the end of each ten-day week. *Ibid.*, "Ch'ung-ju," 1.35a.

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Fig. 3. Closeup of watchtower in examination grounds (can be seen in the background of fig. 2), flanked by sheds containing the cubicles where the candidates wrote their test answers. Photograph: Brinkley, *China*, 11: facing p. 208.

nations on classics and poetry were viewed primarily as a means of revealing the humane knowledge acquired by the candidate, whereas the discussion and policy problems were designed to show his ability to perform official duties.[82] It was commonly argued that the discussion written at the present would be reflected in imperial seminars of the future, and the answers to the policy questions of today's examination would determine the nature of memorials of a later time.[83]

History could be incorporated into the examinations as a topic for poems, discussions, or problems, but the actual inclusion of questions requiring a knowledge of the past depended on official policy and the predilections of individual examiners. From the middle of the eighth to the end of the thirteenth centuries history was an integral part of most examinations. At times the examiners were ordered to assign topics on historical subjects.[84] But an analysis of the questions themselves provides the most striking evidence. Nearly half of 247 policy questions asked on tests held between the mid-T'ang and the end of the Southern Sung explicitly required the examinee to use historical models in proposing solutions to contemporary problems. Topics on the past were included among the questions composed by twenty of the twenty-three examiners investigated. The matters covered

[82] Liu Chih, *Chung-su Chi* (Collected Papers of Liu Chih) (*Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng* [Complete Collection of Major Sinological Series Publications] [hereafter *TSCC*] ed.), *chüan* 4, pp. 58–60.

[83] *LTTY*, 115.16b.

[84] Proposals and imperial decrees providing for the use of history as topics for poetry, discussions, and the policy problems are frequent. See, for example, Liu Chih, *Chung-su Chi, chüan* 4, pp. 58–60; *LTTY*, 165.16b, 167.3a–7a, 8a–13b, 168.18b–19a; *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 3.23b–30a, 55a, 4.8a, 27b, 5.7b–8a, 11b–12a, 25a; *Sheng-cheng*, 12.24b, 22.4a–4b; *Yao-lu*, 61.5a–5b, 113.10a–10b.

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were comparable to the subjects of the presentational historical models. Over eighty per cent fell into ten broad categories—economic policy (38), political development (30), education (29), military affairs (26), recruitment of officials (23), personnel administration (18), foreign policy (14), ceremony and ritual (9), the uses of history (8), and customary and formal law (7).[85]

In an inscriptional record composed in 1187 Chu Hsi argued that the main purpose of education was self-cultivation and not preparation to pass the civil service tests.[86] The reward system was too clearly delineated to allow for the realization of such an ideal, however, and the nature of the recruitment examinations determined the curriculum and teaching procedures in nearly all public and private schools. Students in the imperial university were subjected to a cycle of three tests every month—one on the general meaning of the classics at the end of the first ten-day week, one on poetry in the second, and a discussion and policy question in the third.[87] The questions were identical in form with those of the civil service examinations, and almost always included topics requiring the use of history.[88] Similar procedures were followed in the imperial clan school, the war college, and by local public academies,[89] and extant copies of examinations held in clan

[85] Ch'en Fu-liang, *Chih-chai Wen-chi,* "Fu-lu" (Appendix), 4a–7a, 43.1a–1b; Wei Liao-weng, *Hao-shan Ch'üan-chi,* 27.1a–10a, 93.1a–12b, 103.1a–11b; Liu K'e-chuang, 53.13a–18b; Chen, *Hsi-shan Wen-chi, chüan* 32; Tseng, *Yüan-feng Lei-kao,* 26.7a–9b; Ts'ui Ju-wen, 8.1a–1b; Ou-yang Hsiu, "Chü-shih Chi," vol. 6, *chüan* 48, pp. 11–19, "Chü-shih Wai-chi," vol. 8, *chüan* 20, pp. 83–84, vol. 9, *chüan* 25, pp. 40–50; Su Shih, *Su Tung-p'o Ch'üan-chi* (Collected Papers of Su Shih) (Taipeh, 1964), "Ch'ien-chi," *chüan* 22, pp. 290–97, "Hou-chi," *chüan* 10, p. 569, "Hsü-chi," *chüan* 9, pp. 268–73; Wang An-shih, *Lin-ch'uan Hsien-sheng Wen-chi* (Collected Papers of Wang An-shih) (Shanghai, 1959), *chüan* 70, pp. 746–49; Su Che, *Luan-ch'eng Chi* (Collected Papers of Su Che) (*SPPY* ed.), 20.1a–14a, "San-chi," 6.1a–4b; Liu Pin, *Kung-shih Chi* (Collected Papers of Liu Pin) (*KHCPTS* ed.), *chüan* 49, pp. 595–96; Wang Kuei, *Hua-yang Chi* (Collected Papers of Wang Kuei) (*TSCC* ed.), *chüan* 33, pp. 423–24; Yüan Chieh, *Yüan Tz'u-shan Chi* (Collected Papers of Yüan Chieh) (*KHCPTS* ed.), 138–41; Wang Tsao, *Fou-ch'i Chi* (Collected Papers of Wang Tsao) (*SPTK* ed.), 17.3b–4b; Liu Ts'ai-shao, *Fan-ch'i Chü-shih Chi* (Collected Papers of Liu Ts'ai-shao (*SKSP* ed.), 10.16a–20a; Lu Chiu-yüan, *Hsiang-shan Chi* (Collected Papers of Lu Chiu-yüan) (*SPPY* ed.), 24.1a–9b; Chou Nan, *Shan-fang Chi* (Collected Papers of Chou Nan) (*Han-fen-lou Pi-chi* ed.), 6.1a–22a, 7.1a–39b, "Hou-kao" (Appendix), 12a–13b; Hsü Ying-lung, *Tung-chien Chi* (Collected Papers of Hsü Ying-lung) (*SKSP* ed.), 10.1a; Han Yü, *Han Ch'ang-li Chi* (Collected Papers of Han Yü) (*KHCPTS* ed.), *chüan* 14, pp. 19–24; Yang Wan-li, *Ch'eng-chai Chi* (Collected Papers of Yang Wan-li) (*SPTK* ed.), 96.7b–14a; Wen T'ien-hsiang, *Wen Wen-shan Ch'üan-chi* (Collected Papers of Wen T'ien-hsiang) (Taipeh, 1965), *chüan* 3, pp. 41–53; Chao Ting-ch'en, *Chu-yin Chi-shih Chi* (Collected Papers of Chao Ting-ch'en) (*SKSP* ed.), 12.1a–13a; Ch'eng Kung-hsü, *Ts'ang-chou Ch'en-fou-pien* (Collected Papers of Ch'eng Kung-hsü) (*SKSP* ed.), 14.1a–11a.

[86] This was an inscription on a stele raised to commemorate a public land grant to the famous Stone Drum Academy. Chu Hsi, *Hui-an Hsien-sheng Chu Wen-kung Wen-chi* (Collected Papers of Chu Hsi) (*SPTK* ed.), 79.22b–24a.

[87] *SHY,* "Ch'ung-ju," 1.35a.

[88] Chou Pi-ta, *Lu-ling Chou I-kuo Wen-chung Kung-chi* (Collected Papers of Chou Pi-ta) (Ch'ing ed.), "Yü-t'ang lei-kao" (Yü-t'ang Collection), 20.4b–6a; Hsü Ying-lung, *Tung-chien Chi,* 10.10b–12a; Ou-yang Hsiu, "Chü-shih Wai-chi," *chüan* 25, pp. 48–50; Su Shih, *Su Tung-p'o Ch'üan-chi,* "Ch'ien-chi," *chüan* 20, pp. 294–95; Yang Wan-li, *Ch'eng-chai Chi,* 96.7b–8b, 9b–11b; Chao Ting-ch'en, *Chu-yin Chi-shih Chi,* 12.6b–7b; Ch'eng, *Ts'ang-chou Ch'en-fou-pien,* 14.6b–11a.

[89] *SHY,* "Ch'ung-ju," 1.17b, 18a, 19a–19b. See extant examinations given in the imperial clan school (*Tsung-hsüeh*) in Hsü Ying-lung, *Tung-chien Chi,* 10.8a–10b; Su Che, *Luan-ch'eng Chi,* 20.13b–14a; and Yang Wan-li, *Ch'eng-chai Chi,* 96.11b–13a; and in prefectural schools

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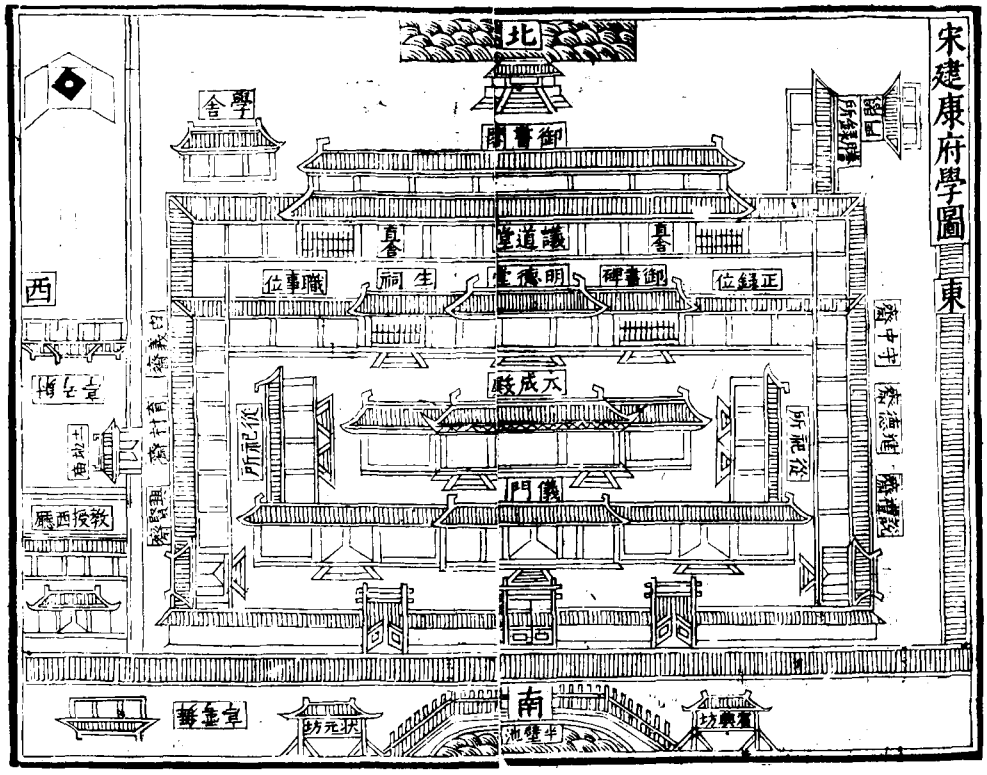


Fig. 4. A diagram of the prefectural school at Chien-k'ang Fu (modern Nanking) during the Sung. Photograph: Chiao Hung *et al.*, *Ching-hsüeh Chih* (History of the Capital School) (Taipeh, 1965), 15–16.

schools suggest that there was little difference between the procedures used in public and in private educational institutions.[90] Questions were occasionally designed to test the pupil's ability to use historical texts. A prefectural school problem composed in the late 1080s asked the students to discuss *The Book of Documents, The Spring and Autumn Annals, The Historical Records,* and histories of the Two Han, Three Kingdoms, and Wei dynasties, as well as the critical writings of Liu Chih-chi, Han Yü, and Li Ao.[91] This is roughly comparable to asking for an evaluation of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, Gibbon, Bede, Bury, Croce, and Hegel.

An investigation of extant policy questions leaves the impression that it was beyond the capacity of any ordinary mortal to acquire the incredible amount of historical knowledge necessary to write adequate answers. A late tenth-century question composed by Wei Hsiang is illustrative. He asked the examinees to propose policies designed to prevent a decline in the exchange value of money and to bring an end to illegal coining. They were

(*chou-hsüeh*) in Su Shih, *Su Tung-p'o Ch'üan-chi,* "Ch'ien-chi," *chüan* 22, pp. 293–94; Chao Ting-ch'en, *Chu-yin Chi-shih Chi,* 12.1a–6b.

[90] See, for example, Wei Liao-weng, *Hao-shan Ch'üan-chi,* 93.7a–11a.

[91] Chao Ting-ch'en, *Chu-yin Chi-shih Chi,* 12.5a–6a. The probable date in the 1080s is based on the biography in the introduction to this collected papers. "T'i-yao," 1a–2b.

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explicitly told to base their answers on principles abstracted from a series of ten widely separated historical events that took place over a period of more than fifteen hundred years of Chinese history.[92] The arguments presented in actual proposals for the adoption of new policy required as much, or more, erudition. How did they do it?

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT of the examination system was taking place at the same time that a historical-analogistic attitude was gaining influence over the thought and practice of historians and statesmen. The two trends reinforced each other and provided the incentive and ideological basis for writing new kinds of history. The first prerequisite for the scientific application of comparative historiography to an analysis of economic, political, and social problems is the systematic classification and juxtaposition of similar historical phenomena in an easily accessible form. In China this was accomplished by the compilation of a wide variety of classified collections of historical documents and descriptions of events. These works were the main tools used by examiners, examinees, and statesmen in applying history to policy formulation, and they provided the primary mechanism for the filiation of the ideas and propositions of Chinese economic and political theory.

The idea of providing separate essays on special subjects was first used by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his *Historical Records.* Monographs on such matters as astronomy, fiscal administration, governmental organization, and administrative geography were included in most subsequent dynastic histories. Etienne Balazs was the first to point out that the Chinese used this topical treatment of the past as an aid in bureaucratic practice.[93] But these treatises

[92] Wei Hsiang, *Wei Hsien-sheng Chi* (Collected Papers of Wei Hsiang) (Ch'ing ed.), 17.40b–42a. The ten events were: (1) the establishment of the nine ministries by T'ai-kung through which he regulated the circulation of goods by the method of round monies (twelfth century B.C.), (2) the use of the ratio between denominations of large and small coins to regulate their exchange values of Ching Wang (524 B.C.), (3) the minting of *wu-shu* (5 *shu*) coins by Han Wu-ti (118 B.C.), (4) the quantity of *wu-shu* coins issued during the Former Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 9), (5) the use of the *wu-shu* coin as a standard currency from its initial minting in 118 B.C. to A.D. 621, (6) the casting of overvalued 100 "cash" coins by Liu Pei (A.D. 221–22), (7) the issue of overvalued 1000 "cash" coins by Sun Ch'üan (238 A.D.), (8) the use of 2 "cash" large coins by (Liu) Sung Wen-ti on the recommendation of Wang I-kung (A.D. 424), (9) the demonetization of *wu-shu* and establishment of *K'ai-yüan T'ung-pao* as the standard coin in 621 A.D., (10) the overvalued *Ch'ien-yüan Ch'ung-ling* coin proposed by Ti-wu Ch'i in 758. The *wu-shu* is a coin weighing 5 *shu* (between 3½ and 4 grams). The term "cash" (*ch'ien*) is a translation of the Chinese accounting unit. All are bronze coins. The pre-Han events are of doubtful historicity. The reputed coinage of King Ching is discussed in detail in Katō Shigeru, "Shū Kei-ō Chūsen Setsuwa Hihan" (On the Authenticity of the Tradition that the *Ta Ch'ien* was issued by King Ching of Chou) in *China Keizai-shi kōshō* (Studies in Chinese Economic History) (Tokyo, 1952), 1: 1–14. The Han and pre-Han items are described in the economic monograph of *The History of the Former Han Dynasty,* translated by Nancy Lee Swann in her *Food and Money in Ancient China* (Princeton, 1950), 219–20, 225–28, 275, 323–24. For the remaining matters, see P'eng Hsin-wei, *Chung-kuo Huo-pi Shih* (History of Chinese Currency) (Shanghai, 1958), 76–77, 179–80.

[93] Etienne Balazs, "L'histoire Comme Guide de la Pratique Bureaucratique," in Beasley and Pulleyblank, *Historians of China and Japan,* 78–94. Balazs does not, however, discuss the use of history in the formulation of new policy.

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were limited to the events of one dynasty, and the categories of classification were very broad. *The Political Institutions* (*Cheng-tien*) compiled by Liu Chih (ca. 740), son of China's greatest historical critic, Liu Chih-chi, was the first encyclopedia specifically designed to provide a carefully detailed, classified arrangement of historical phenomena of all periods as an aid in formulating policy.[94] *The Political Institutions* no longer exists, but it provided the model for the earliest extant work of this genre, the highly influential *Comprehensive Institutions* of Tu Yu (735–812).[95] This book covers Chinese history from the earliest times to the middle of the eighth century and is arranged in nine sections, each of which is subdivided into many separate items—there are, for example, twenty different categories of material on the economy. Within each category primary documents and previous descriptions are quoted and placed in chronological order. In *The Comprehensive Institutions* and in subsequent compilations of the same type the synthesis of principles abstracted from a series of events was provided by the extensive quotation of statesmen or historians who applied the historical experience to actual problems of public policy. These statements, in turn, became a part of the record and a basis for later refinement. In an entry for the year 735, for example, Tu Yu reproduced a memorial in which Liu Chih analyzed the determinants of the exchange value of money and opposed a proposal to allow free coinage. Chih based his argument partly on principles illustrated by the history of currency problems in the reigns of Duke Huan of Ch'i (685–643 B.C.), King Ching of Chou (544–519 B.C.), Han Wen-ti (179–156 B.C.), and Han Ching-ti (156–140 B.C.). These matters were all recorded in detail in the preceding pages of *The Comprehensive Institutions* and, along with Liu Chih's analysis, were incorporated into later encyclopedias, followed by subsequent events, discussions, refinements, and applications to new problems.[96] In a late twelfth-century memorial on enhancing the value of paper money, Yang Kuan-ch'ing writes:

> Lu Chih said: "If the exchange value of coins is high, the state must increase the quantity cast in order to scatter them widely and thereby cause their exchange value to fall. If the exchange value of coins is low, then the state must make laws to collect them and thereby cause their exchange value to rise." Liu Chih said: "If there are too few goods, then make laws to distribute them by sale for money, thereby causing them to be more plenteous. And if there are too many goods, then make laws to receive them by purchase with money, thereby causing them to be fewer." At the time of these two gentlemen, there was no paper money. Therefore,

[94] *Ibid.*, 89–90; Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism," 98–99, 101–03.

[95] Tu Yu, *T'ung-tien* (The Comprehensive Institutions) (Taipeh, 1966). Translations, unfortunately quite badly done, exist for two sections of Ma, *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, a similarly organized work: money, see William Vissering, *Chinese Currency* (Leiden, 1877); and foreign peoples, see Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des Peuples Etrangers à la Chine* (Paris, 1876).

[96] Tu, *T'ung-tien, chüan* 9, p. 53; Tung Kao, *Ch'üan T'ang Wen* (Complete T'ang Writings) (*Wu-ying-tien* ed.; 1818), 372.18b–20a.

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they used only the value of coins to make their statements. I request to borrow the words of these two men for use in an analysis of paper money.[97]

Liu Chih's remarks of 734 were drawn from the account in *The Comprehensive Institutions,* while Lu Chih's petition of 794 was easily available in his *Collected Memorials,* which at this time was regularly read in the imperial seminar.[98] The close relationship between the classified encyclopedia and the civil service recruitment examinations is exemplified by the question of Wei Hsiang cited earlier. Detailed information on each of the ten events mentioned by the early Sung examiner was arranged in chronological order in the two chapters on money in *The Comprehensive Institutions.* The latest matter referred to in the tenth-century question was the minting of overvalued fifty "cash" bronze coins by Ti-wu Ch'i in 758. This is the last entry in Tu Yu's section on currency.[99]

The importance of topical histories increased rapidly, and the state historiographical bureau soon began to supervise their compilation. The proportion of this type of writing (*lei-shu*) to all history titles listed in the bibliographic monographs of the T'ang and Sung histories rose from 2.7 per cent to 12.5 per cent.[100] In 853 the preparation of *A Digest of Governmental Institutions of the T'ang Dynasty* was undertaken by an imperial commission, continuing a form developed by a private scholar at the beginning of the ninth century.[101] *The Archival Portents* compiled by imperial decree between 1005 and 1012 was a collection of documents on the lives and conduct of rulers and ministers that was designed to serve as a guide for those in positions of power.[102] The imperial policy chronicle, which seems to have been a Sung innovation, represented the most ambitious attempt to adapt historical writing to the needs of policy makers. This type of work combined the form of *The Comprehensive Mirror,* which derived from the imperial seminar, with that of *The Comprehensive Institutions,* which was closely related to the recruitment examinations. The materials were arranged in chronological order with analytical discussions inserted at appropriate points in the narrative. But the narrative also contained a classified table of subjects keyed to topical headings placed in the upper margin of each page. The index of the extant *Imperial Policy Chronicle of the Two Restoration Reigns of the Sung Dynasty* (see fig. 5) is divided

97 Yang Kuan-ch'ing, *K'o-t'ing Lei-kao* (Collected Papers of Yang Kuan-ch'ing) (*Hu-pei Hsien-cheng I-shu* [Extant Works of the Worthies of Hupeh] ed.), 9.4b.

98 *SHY,* "Ch'ung-ju," 7.14b; *Sheng-cheng,* 63.4b; Lu Chih, *Lu Hsüan-kung Tsou-yi,* 94–96. This memorial is translated in Stefan Balazs, "Beiträge zur Wirtschaftgeschichte der T'ang-Zeit, Part 3," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin,* 36 (1933): 1–41.

99 Wei Hsiang, *Wei Hsien-sheng Chi,* 17.40b–42a; Tu, *T'ung-tien, chüan* 8, pp. 45, 47; *chüan* 9, pp. 49, 53.

100 Ou-yang, *T'ang-shu, chüan* 57–60; *SS, chüan* 202–09.

101 Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works* (Cambridge, 1950), 160.

102 *Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei.* See *ibid.,* 114.

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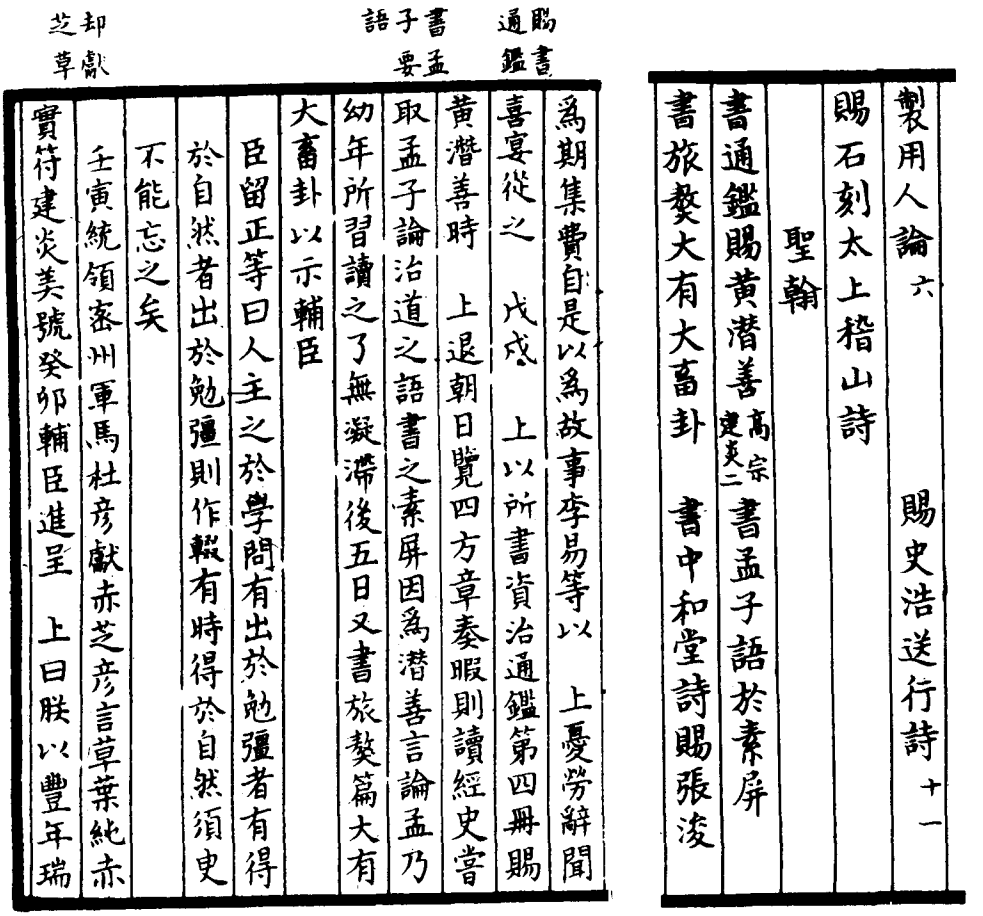


Fig. 5. Pages from the index and text of *The Imperial Policy Chronicle of the Two Restoration Reigns of the Sung Dynasty*. The two characters indented in the third column from the right represent the category "Imperial Pen" under the main heading "Way [*Tao*] of the Ruler." The following two columns of this page from the "table of subjects" contain four brief phrases indicating the matters discussed in the text. The smaller, double-lined characters following the first phrase (fourth column) show the year of the event (1128). Subsequent index phrases are arranged in chronological order. In the upper margin of the text page (after the blank column in the photograph) for that year, the key phrases are repeated above the actual dated narration of the events. The three columns of indented text (columns 7, 8, and 9 of the text page) following the descriptive information are the interjected commentary. Photograph: *Sheng-cheng*, "Fen-lei-shih-mu" (Table of Subjects), 36b, 3.26b.

into 15 main headings and 295 different categories of historical phenomena.[103]

During most years of the Sung dynasty the application of history to the solution of current problems was an integral feature of those educational and political institutions that had a direct influence on the formation of

[103] *Sheng-cheng*, "Fen-lei-shih-mu" (Classified List of Subjects), 1a–175a. In 1044 a *Tsu-Tsung Sheng-cheng Lu* (Imperial Policy Chronicle of the Dynastic Founders) (no longer extant) was read in the imperial seminar. *CPPM*, 29.7a; *HCP*, 155.6a. During the Southern Sung *Sheng-cheng* were compiled under the direction of the *Sheng-cheng So*. *SHY*, "Chih-kuan," 41.70b–74b; see also 20.42a–42b.

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public policy. This task was facilitated by the development of new kinds of historical writing that served as the primary vehicles for the transmission of Chinese ideas on society and economy. Further refinements were made by statesmen who applied information from these records to actual problems, and their policies, in turn, were incorporated into later compilations. During these centuries historical analogism had a decisive influence on the theory and practice of government. But it did not proceed unchallenged.

In 1129 Hu Yen charged that Wang An-shih had completely destroyed historical scholarship.[104] The following year Kao-tsung (1127–62) remarked to his chief councilors that "there are few great officials learned in historical studies. This deficiency is entirely a result of Wang An-shih's using the general meaning of the classics as the sole basis of the recruitment examinations." Fan Tsung-yin replied that Wang had not gone quite that far and that the decline in history was due primarily to Ts'ai Ching's adoption of the *shao-shu* policy approved by Che-tsung in 1093.[105] Literally, to follow the policy of *shao-shu* (inherit and transmit) meant to follow the profession of one's father and to transmit the way of antiquity. In practice it meant reintroduction of the policies approved by Shen-tsung and a revival of active classicism.[106] It was militantly antihistorical. Tsung-yin's assessment is probably correct. There is no overt antihistorical bias expressed in the writings of Wang An-shih. Indeed, there is practically no mention of history at all in the collected papers of this eleventh-century reformer. But the active classicism of Wang laid the basis for the antihistory measures implemented during the last decades of the Northern Sung.

The alterations in the examination system and the changes in public education enacted during the reform period (1069–85) clearly placed a novel emphasis on the study of the early classics. The critical first two sessions of the recruitment examinations were both devoted to tests on the canon. *The Spring and Autumn Annals* was excluded. And in 1073 a committee chaired by Wang An-shih was established to provide new and definitive commentaries for the favored works—*The Book of Poetry, The Book of Documents,* and *The Rites of Chou.*[107] These were completed in 1075 and sent to the directorate of state education for printing and distribution to the public schools.[108]

There was probably an eclipse in the use of history in the discussions and policy problems. This is difficult to document since there are neither explicit

104 *Sheng-cheng,* 6.9b; *Yao-lu,* 27.18a.

105 *Sheng-cheng,* 7.22a–22b; *Yao-lu,* 34.14a–14b.

106 For the various events of the so-called *shao-shu* period, see Feng Ch'i, *Sung-shih Chi-shih-pen-mo* (Topical Arrangement of Sung History) (*KHCPTS* ed.), *chüan* 46; *CPPM, chüan* 100.

107 *CPPM,* 74.2b; *HCP,* 243.6b–7a. For the importance during this period of *ad hoc* committees created by imperial edict, see my "Financial Expertise, Examinations and the Formulation of Economic Policy in Northern Sung China," *Journal of Asian Studies,* 30 (1971): 293–94.

108 *CPPM,* 74.4a; *HCP,* 265.24a–24b.

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prohibitions nor extant questions available for this period. In an early essay Wang proposed that topics for the policy essays on contemporary affairs be selected from the classics.[109] The questions contained in his collected papers[110]—probably composed in 1063 when he was a coexaminer[111]—are one of the three sets of questions of the twenty-three investigated that are entirely classic-oriented.[112] The other two groups were composed by Han Yü, the T'ang precursor of authoritarian Neo-Confucianism, and by Lu Hsiang-shan, the Southern Sung founder of its "Idealistic" branch.[113]

Although there may be some question about the intentions of Wang An-shih, there is no doubt about the position of his followers during the post-reform period (1093–1125). After a brief regency of the empress dowager (1085–93), when most of the measures enacted under Shen-tsung were either rescinded or radically modified,[114] Che-tsung took over personal control of the administration and adopted the *shao-shu* policy. Between 1093 and 1125 no histories seem to have been read in the imperial seminar.[115] When the heir apparent began his education in 1114, the reader-in-waiting, Li Shih, memoralized that history was not a subject worthy of study by a future emperor. The resulting decree abolished the reading of history and provided that the classics alone be used in the instruction of the young prince.[116] Similar efforts were made to eliminate the subject from the examination and education of the civil servant.

Soon after Chang Ch'un was appointed chief councilor in 1093 the reformed examination system was re-instituted,[117] *The Spring and Autumn Annals* excluded,[118] and Wang An-shih's commentaries circulated to the schools as the sole basis for the tests on the general meaning of the classics.[119] Discussion and policy question topics requiring the use of history were discouraged. In 1112 the newly appointed chief examiner, Ts'ai I, and his three coexaminers jointly petitioned to be allowed to use subjects drawn from the histories of successive ages in the doctoral examinations.[120] An

[109] Wang An-shih, *Lin-ch'uan Hsien-sheng Wen-chi, chüan* 69, pp. 734–35.

[110] *Ibid., chüan* 70, pp. 746–49.

[111] *HCP,* 198.1a; *SHY,* "Hsüan-chü," 1.11b.

[112] See page 705 above.

[113] Han, *Han Ch'ang-li Chi, chüan* 14, pp. 19–24; Lu Chiu-yüan, *Hsiang-shan Chi,* 24.1a–9b.

[114] During the antireform period (1085–93) the imperial seminar, which had the task of educating an eight-and-one-half-year-old child emperor, was packed with historians. *CPPM,* 92.1a–11a. It was at this time that Fan Tsu-yü offered up his *Mirror of T'ang* and the system of presentational historical models was initiated. *Ibid.,* 92.5a–5b. Although Ssu-ma Kuang praised Wang An-shih's reform of the examinations and deplored only his insistence on one interpretation of the classics (*LTTY,* 167.3a–7a), Liu Chih's proposal to reinstate poetry, partly on the grounds that topics included historical subjects, was adopted (Liu Chih, *Chung-su Chi, chüan* 4, pp. 58–60) and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* became an acceptable classic (*CPPM,* 100.4b–12a).

[115] At least the sources for these years of Chinese history yield no hint of the practice.

[116] Ch'en Mu, *Tung-kung Pei-lan,* 2.4a–4b, 5b; Wu, *Neng-kai-chai Man-lu,* 13.6a; *SHY,* "Chih-kuan," 7.24b–25a.

[117] *HCPSP,* 10.4a.

[118] *CPPM,* 100.4b–12a.

[119] *SHY,* "Ch'ung-ju," 5.27b.

[120] *Ibid.,* "Hsüan-chü," 4.8a.

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initially favorable decision by Hui-tsung was quickly reversed on the basis of Li Yen-chang's classicist appeal quoted at the beginning of this paper,[121] and shortly thereafter all four men were demoted two offices.[122] An investigation of extant tests prepared during this period shows the success of these measures.

All the prefectural school examination questions composed by Chao Ting-ch'en in the late 1080s required the application of historical models to the solution of policy problems. But a question for an imperial university examination framed by the same writer between 1102 and 1106 asked the students to discuss personnel administration on the basis of the classics.[123] The career of Ts'ui Ju-wen provides a more striking example. In 1107 he drafted a policy question for a "decree examination" (*chih-chü*) that required a knowledge of history. He was dismissed from his capital assignment and transferred to a provincial post. According to his biographer, "Hui-tsung emphasized the transmission of the policies of *Hsi-feng* [1068–85] . . . and considered an understanding of the classics to be important, but the study of history to lack efficacy."[124] By 1115 Ts'ui had recouped his fortunes and in this year was appointed coexaminer.[125] This time he was more prudent. All four of the departmental problems he composed required the candidates to relate topics chosen from the classics to current policy.[126] By 1132, after the repudiation of classicism and the revival of historical analogism by the founder of the Southern Sung, Ju-wen had gained a position as reader in history in the imperial seminar, and in this year he drafted an imperial examination question that demanded answers exhibiting extensive historical knowledge.[127]

Even more drastic measures were taken to strike out the study of history at its source—the schools. Plans for the development of state education were common features of Northern Sung reform programs. This seems to have been owing to a desire ultimately to replace the unclassical recruitment examinations with a classically sanctioned pyramidal hierarchy of public schools.[128] Wang An-shih took steps to increase the enrollment of the imperial university,[129] to reorganize its administration,[130] and to expand the prefectural and subprefectural primary and secondary system.[131] But

121 See page 691 above. See also Wu, *Neng-kai-chai Man-lu,* 12.15a–15b; Wang Chien-ch'iu, *Sung-tai T'ai-hsüeh yü T'ai-hsüeh-sheng* (The Imperial University and Imperial Students during the Sung Dynasty) (Taipeh, 1965), 159–60.

122 *SHY,* "Hsüan-chü," 4.8b.

123 Chao Ting-ch'en, *Chu-yin Chi-shih Chi,* 12.1a–13a.

124 Ts'ui Ju-wen, "Fu-lu," 3b–4a.

125 *SHY,* "Hsüan-chü," 1.14b.

126 Ts'ui Ju-wen, 8.1a–7b.

127 *Ibid.,* 7.23b–24a, 8.1a–7b.

128 See the statements of Sung Ch'i in 1044 (*SHY,* Hsüan-chü," 3.23b–30a) and of the secretariat in 1071 (*HCP,* 220.1a). See also Wang An-shih, *Lin-ch'uan Hsien-sheng Wen-chi, chüan* 42, p. 450.

129 *HCP,* 227.7b–8a.

130 Wang Chien-ch'iu, *Sung-tai T'ai-hsüeh,* 11–12.

131 Chao T'ieh-han, "Sung-taiti Chou-hsüeh" (Prefectural Schools during the Sung Dynasty)

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the most ambitious innovations were not implemented until Ts'ai Ching inaugurated a series of projects intended to revitalize the state instructional apparatus. In 1102, immediately after his appointment as chief councilor, he embarked on a program designed to impose ideological conformity that has few parallels before the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. Following in the steps of Fan Chung-yen and Wang An-shih, he devoted particular attention to education. His initial proposals provided for the establishment of primary and secondary schools in each of the over one thousand subprefectures of the empire, for the creation of a hierarchy of school officials, and for the standardization of curriculum along classical lines. The details were to be worked out by the newly organized state planning office, which was charged with the responsibility for integrating measures adopted to re-create the age of the Three Dynasties.[132] Additional imperial university buildings were constructed, and in 1104 enrollment was raised by 1,400.[133]

On the surface these innovations seem to have been prompted by a desire to increase educational opportunity, but a careful consideration of the evidence makes it quite clear that the primary goal was the enforcement of a fundamentalist classicist orthodoxy. Among his recommendations made originally in the eighth lunar month of 1102 Ts'ai Ching included a request for prohibitions against the teaching of unorthodox books in state schools.[134] An imperial mandate of the twelfth month is more specific. All heterodox writings not in accord with the works of the ancient sages as well as all books reflecting the scholarship and political views of the antireform faction were proscribed.[135] The scholarly work of Ch'eng I was decreed heterodox in 1104, and in the following year the publications of Su Hsün, Su Shih, Su Che, and their disciples were condemned, and all extant copies and printing blocks were ordered to be destroyed.[136] In 1105 the names of 309 men alleged to be members of the antireform faction were inscribed on a stele (see fig. 6) which provided a convenient guide to the volumes to be removed from the shelves of school libraries.[137] Li Hsin-ch'uan records a variety of steps taken at this time to standardize schooling, including a prohibition in 1103 against the assembly of students by private teachers.[138] And in 1107 Ts'ai Ching's "eight conduct" (*pa-hsing*) system was implemented in state educational institutions. It provided for a series of ethical criteria to be used in judging the eligibility of pupils for promotion and

in Sung-shih Tso-t'an-hui (Colloquium on Sung History) ed., *Sung-shih Yen-chiu Chi* (Studies on Sung History), 2 (Taipeh, 1964): 346.

132 *CPPM*, 126.4b–5b, 132.1a–1b.

133 Wang Chien-ch'iu, *Sung-tai T'ai-hsüeh*, 110.

134 *CPPM*, 126.5b.

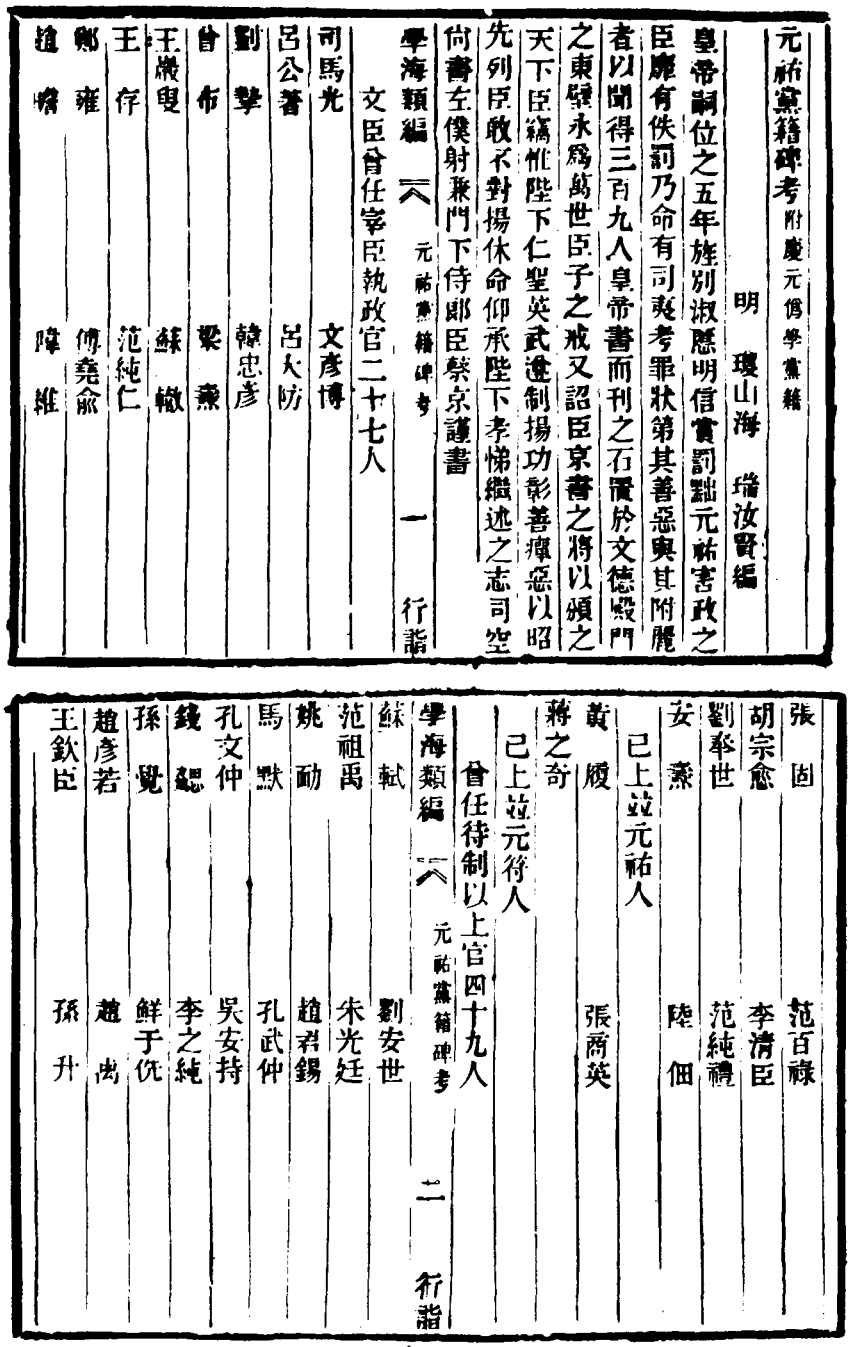
135 *Ibid.*

136 *HCPSP*, 21.10a, 23.5b.

137 Ch'iung Shan-hai and Shui Ju-hsien, *Yüan-yu Tang Chi-pei K'ao* (Investigation of the Stele of the Yüan-yu [1086–93] Faction) (*HHLP* ed.), 1a–11b.

138 Li Hsin-ch'uan, *Tao-ming Lu* (A Record of the School of the Study of the *Tao*) (*CPT* ed.), 2.3b–7a.

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元祐黨籍碑考附慶元偽學黨籍

明 瑯山海 瑨汝賢編

皇帝嗣位之五年旌別淑慝明信賞罰黜元祐害政之臣臚有佚罰乃命有司爰考罪狀第其善惡與其附麗者以聞得三百九人皇帝書而刊之石置於文德殿門之東壁永爲萬世臣子之戒又詔臣京書之將以頒之天下臣竊惟陛下仁聖英武遹制揚功彰善瘅惡以昭先烈臣敢不對揚休命仰承陛下孝悌繼述之志司空尚書左僕射兼門下侍郎臣蔡京謹書

學海類編 元祐黨籍碑考 一 行詣

文臣曾任宰臣執政官二十七人

司馬光 文彥博 呂公著 呂大防 劉摯 韓忠彥 曾布 梁燾 王巖叟 蘇轍 王存 范純仁 鄭雍 傅堯俞 趙瞻 陣瑾

張固 范百祿 胡宗愈 李清臣 劉摯世 范純禮 安燾 陸佃

已上並元祐人

黃履 張商英 蔣之奇

已上並元符人

曾任待制以上官四十九人

學海類編 元祐黨籍碑考 二 行詣

蘇軾 劉安世 范祖禹 朱光廷 姚勔 趙君錫 馬默 孔武仲 孔文仲 吳安持 鏡聰 李之純 孫覺 鮮于侁 趙彥若 趙卨 王欽臣 孫升

Fig. 6. Four pages from a Ming dynasty study of the stele of 1105. A copy of the list of proscribed officials begins on the second page (upper left) and is followed by two more pages (lower right and left). The historian Ssu-ma Kuang is the first name and Fan Tsu-yü appears at the top of the second column of the lower left-hand page. Photograph: Ch'iung Shan-hai and Shui Ju-hsien, *Yüan-yu Tang Chi-pei K'ao* (Investigation of the Stele of the Yüan-yu [1086–1093] Faction) (*HHLP* ed.), 1a–2b.

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was based on the rigid hierarchy of social relations described in *The Classic of Filial Piety*.[139]

The impact on the study of history was direct and must have been devastating. The printing and use of *The Comprehensive Mirror* and *The Mirror of T'ang* was automatically prohibited by the placement of the names of Ssu-ma Kuang and Fan Tsu-yü on the stele of 1105, and at least nine other historians were also included in this list.[140] The teaching of history in the public schools was forbidden,[141] and the predominance of classicism in the civil service examinations ensured that all those who escaped the web of state education would still not find the attainment of historical knowledge to their advantage.

When Jurchen armies invaded the empire, Hui-tsung was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Ts'ai Ching was disgraced, and the subsequent loss of North China was commonly ascribed to the maladministration brought about by the classicist reformers. It is not surprising that a historical-analogistic attitude characterized the rule of the founder of the Southern Sung. In 1127 the imperial seminar was reopened,[142] the examination system of the antireform period was re-established,[143] and all commentaries on the classics were given equal status.[144] An edict ordered the reading of *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* in 1128,[145] and the practice of preparing presentational historical models was reinstated in 1130.[146] These measures were continued by Kao-tsung's successors, and historical analogism prevailed in state circles until the Mongol troops of Bayan brought the rule of the house of Chao to an end in 1279. But this attitude toward the use of history did not outlive the dynasty during which it gained its greatest influence. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries it was not historical analogism but an orthodoxy of the Chu Hsi classicist-moral-didactic compromise that became the basis of education and the examinations.[147]

THE CHANGING ATTITUDES toward the relationship between the study of the past and the needs of the present determined the nature of Chinese "social

[139] *CPPM*, 126.1a–4b.

[140] Ch'iung and Shui, *Yüan-yu Tang*, 1a–11b; Chi Yün *et al.*, *Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu Tsung-mu, Ch'in-ting* (Imperially Commissioned Bibliography of the Books of the Four Treasuries) (Shanghai, 1930), 50.3a, 55.4b, 5a, 59.5b, 68.2b, 70.3b, 72.1b, 89.1b.

[141] *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 4.8a.

[142] *Sheng-cheng*, 2.19b; *Yao-lu*, 11.1a; *HC*, 2.11b.

[143] *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 4.17a–17b; *HC*, 1.14a.

[144] *Sheng-cheng*, 3.16a; *SHY*, "Hsüan-chü," 4.21b–22a; *Yao-lu*, 15.11b. This measure was adopted in 1128. Wang An-shih's commentaries were not actually proscribed until 1142. *HC*, 30.5b; *Yao-lu*, 145.15a.

[145] *Sheng-cheng*, 3.6b–7b; *HC*, 3.7a; *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.1a; *Yao-lu*, 14.3b.

[146] *Sheng-cheng*, 8.3a; *SHY*, "Ch'ung-ju," 7.1a–1b; *Yao-lu*, 36.3a; *HC*, 9.3b.

[147] The enforcement of a Chu Hsi orthodoxy in education and in the examinations during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties has been mentioned by many authors. See, for example, de Bary, "Some Common Tendencies in Neo-Confucianism," 28–29. For the establishment of Chu Hsi's

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science" and had a significant influence on the shape and effectiveness of public policy.

As the main mechanism in the accumulation and transmission of knowledge about the structure of economy, polity, and society, and as a tool consistently employed for problem solving, historical analogism played a decisive role in delineating the possibilities for an independent Chinese development of compositive social theory. The methods of social and natural science consist in the creation of deductive causal explanations, or hypotheses, and in testing their predictive accuracy against empirical observation. [148] The distinguishing character of each separate science is that it is a system of such propositions that is capable of explaining, or predicting, many diverse phenomena of a certain kind by tracing them logically to a small number of principles or laws.[149] The appearance and development of this scientific method in the West during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were primarily results of the conjunction of three different historical forces: first, "the persistent use of experiment or of controlled observation as the final arbiter in reaching any result,"[150] a practice that was closely related to the Renaissance emphasis on the observation of nature and man and to the growing importance of measurement and calculation during the economic revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; second, "a widespread instinctive belief in the existence of an Order of Things" not solely explicable as the purposive design of God or man, an assumption that owed its rise to the post-Reformation decline of theological authority and to the secularization of large areas of intellectual life;[151] and third, the habitual employment of the hypothetical-deductive technique of inquiry inherited from the Euclidean method of demonstration or proof.[152] In China the use of historical analogism was responsible for many steps in this process of making the study of society a science. As a mode of investigation, however, it was inadequate to complete this transformation by itself.

There are a variety of ways in which history can be used or misused, and it is not surprising that the Chinese nearly exhausted the possibilities. Edwin G. Pulleyblank has cited the literalism of Liu Chih, who followed ancient ways by taking ox-drawn chariots into a battle that resulted in forty-thousand casualties and a disastrous defeat.[153] In 1050 Yüan I used the

brand of Neo-Confucianism as the basis of the Yüan tests, see *Ta-Yüan Sheng-cheng Kuo-ch'ao Tien-chang* (Institutes of the Yüan Dynasty), Imperial Commission, ed. (Taipeh, 1964), 31.10b.

148 Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (New York, 1964), 131.

149 William Letwin, *The Origins of Scientific Economics* (New York, 1964), vi.

150 John U. Nef, "The Genesis of Industrialism and of Modern Science (1560–1640)," in Norton Downs, ed., *Essays in Honor of Conyers Read* (Chicago, 1952), 218.

151 *Ibid.*; John Nef, *Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization* (Cambridge, 1958), 6–34; G. N. Clark, *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (Oxford, 1937), 120–28, *passim;* Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1948), 11; F. A. Hayek, *The Counter-Revolution of Science* (Glencoe, 1952), 17–24.

152 Letwin, *Origins of Scientific Economics,* 104–05.

153 Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism," 99.

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white deerskin "currency" of Han Wu-ti (140–87 B.C.) as precedent and authority for a proposal to make a money of deerskin decorated with hummingbird feathers.[154] And the protagonists in bureaucratic factional controversies commonly employed moral-didactic arguments in castigating their opponents as resembling some member of the Chinese pantheon of historical villians. Although many other examples could be cited, such cases were still relatively rare, and these uses of history were clearly not in accord with the intentions of the more sophisticated advocates of historical analogism.

The most common preanalytic use of analogies with past events was the creation of models of success or failure. History was also employed to suggest new approaches not completely derivable from the specific events, to discover functional relationships between seemingly diverse phenomena, and as a repository of empirical data to be used in testing generalizations. The possibilities and limitations of this technique of social analysis are illustrated by its application to economic matters. The cases of the Sung use of the T'ang salt and iron commissioner, Liu Yen (715–80), as a model of fiscal expertise, and of the development of a theory of the value of money are instructive.

In 763 Liu Yen was appointed great minister and commissioner for public works, salt and iron, transport, and taxation.[155] The innovations he made in the administration of the salt monopoly and the transport of grain to the capital were recorded in the classified sections of late T'ang and Five Dynasty histories.[156] But the utilization of the T'ang statesman and his policies as a pattern for financial practice during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was based primarily on the incorporation of this information into the "talented planners" section of the "government accounting" part of the imperially commissioned *Archival Portents,* completed in 1012.[157] Liu Yen's career was subsequently cited over and over again as evidence for the success of employing experts on the "laws of exchange values" (*ch'ing-chung chih fa*) in fiscal positions.[158] It was frequently used in examination questions on economic specialization, the salt monopoly, or price control policies.[159] Ssu-ma Kuang inserted a eulogistic account of Yen's life and measures after the entry in *The Comprehensive Mirror* recording his death in 780.[160] And in a presentational historical model of 1213 Chen Te-hsiu followed a quotation of Kuang's statement with a commentary in which he

[154] *HCP,* 169.5a. The bird plumage was apparently an attempt at originality.

[155] Denis Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty* (Cambridge, 1963), 111.

[156] Wang P'u, *T'ang Hui-yao, chüan* 87, p. 1588; Liu Hsü, *Chiu T'ang-shu* (Old History of the T'ang Dynasty) (*Er-shih-ssu Shih* ed.), 49.3a.

[157] Wang Ch'in-jo *et al., Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei* (Archival Portents) (Taipeh, 1960), *chüan* 483, p. 5779.

[158] Hartwell, "Financial Expertise," 298–99.

[159] Chou Nan, *Shan-fang Chi,* 6.4a–5b.

[160] *T'ung-chien,* vol. 12, *chüan* 226, pp. 266–68.

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developed a thesis on the relationship between fiscal expertise and benevolent government.[161]

On a somewhat higher level of sophistication, descriptions of Liu Yen's system for managing the price of salt by selling different quantities of state stores in accord with fixed rate schedules were used by Shen Kua as analogical models for the institution of an automatic mechanism for controlling grain charges. The eleventh-century finance commissioner utilized statistics compiled over a period of several years to determine the changes in price resulting from government sale or purchase of various amounts of grain in each of the districts of southeast China. He then set up a scale of rates and quantities, which local officials were to employ to maintain parity.[162] In a political treatise composed between 1034 and 1038 Chang Fang-p'ing adopted a form very similar to an experimental method in his argument for the appointment of experts to posts in the fiscal administration. He stated a proposition:

> If food and money are governed by the use of exchange values, then the needs of the people will be satisfied, the requirements of the government supplied. By this means even a weak state may become powerful. If the principles of exchange values are not understood, then the populace will be distressed, the country impoverished, and even a powerful state will become weak.

He then wrote: "Let me 'test' [*shih*] this statement by examining it in relation to the *K'ai-yüan* [713–41] and *T'ien-pao* [742–55] periods of the T'ang." And he proceeded to verify his generalization by demonstrating that the maladministration of fiscal matters during the first half of the eighth century nearly bankrupted a prosperous state, while the skilled manipulation of the "laws of exchange values" by Liu Yen during the economic troubles of the era following the An Lu-shan rebellion (755) restored the ability of the dynasty to retain control of the empire for another one hundred and fifty years.[163]

The encyclopedic tradition and quantitative measurement were interrelated parts of historical analogism, and both contributed to the prevalence of controlled observation as a technique of Chinese social analysis. The importance of the collection and arrangement of data in suggesting the need and providing one of the means for systematic interpretation has been observed by several students of the origins of social and natural science in early modern Europe. G. N. Clark has described the significant role played by the encyclopedia in the early history of social science, and A. R. Hall has noted the place eighteenth-century comparative method and systematics

161 Chen, *Hsi-shan Wen-chi, chüan* 5.

162 Shen Kua, *Meng-ch'i pi-t'an* (Occasional Notes of Shen Kua) (*KHCPTS* ed.), *chüan* 11, p. 72.

163 Chang Fang-p'ing, *Lo-ch'üan Chi* (Collected Papers of Chang Fang-p'ing) *(Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu Chen-pen* [Rare Editions from the Four Treasuries] ed.), 15.2b–3b. For the dates of the composition of this work, see *HCP,* 114.18a–18b, 122.5b; Su Shih, *Su Tung-p'o Ch'üan-chi,* "Hou-chi," *chüan* 17, pp. 637–38.

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had in the nineteenth-century biological revolution.[164] Similarly, the Chinese classified histories provided sources for the discovery of functional similarities between seemingly diverse phenomena that were used to derive principles applicable to immediate problems of policy making. For example, in an early thirteenth-century presentational historical model Wu Yung used analogies drawn from eleven different historical events to educe the proposition that the value of fiduciary notes is a function of the quantity issued and of the willingness of sellers and creditors, including the government, to accept them for payments at their nominal tariff. He cited the token coins of King Ching of Chou (524 B.C.), the white deerskin money of Han Wu-ti (120 B.C.),[165] the "flying money" (promissory notes) of the T'ang,[166] "credit cash" (bills of exchange) of the early Sung,[167] the Ssu-ch'uan "exchange medium" (iron coin certificates) issued by the government from 1024,[168] as well as descriptions and discussions of paper money in 1168, 1175, 1179, 1180, and 1183.[169] These matters were all arranged under the sections on currency in the economic monographs of the dynastic histories, encyclopedias, digests of governmental institutions, and imperial policy chronicles. Wu Yung used his conclusions to show that the falling value of the paper notes of his own day was due to overissue and nonconvertibility.[170]

The classified compilations of Chinese historiography also contained numerous statistical tables of population, arable land, government income and disbursements, currency issues, and physical output of mines and industry. Quantitative data obtained from these works were consistently employed by scholars and statesmen in their analyses of contemporary social and economic problems. There was a close relationship between mathematics and economics from very early times. In his discussion of the alleged casting of overvalued large coins by King Ching of Chou, Duke Mu of Shan argued that under conditions of the concurrent circulation of full-bodied and token coins, monetary stability depends on maintaining a fixed ratio of exchange between the two types of currency by adjusting the value of the "antecedent" (*tzu*) or "consequent" (*mu*) to changes in

[164] Clark, *Science and Social Welfare*, 128–31, 142–44; A. R. Hall, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500–1800* (Boston, 1956), 275–302.

[165] Tu, *T'ung-tien, chüan* 8, pp. 45, 46.

[166] Ou-yang, *T'ang-shu*, 54.13a. For a discussion of the nature of "flying money" (*fei-ch'ien*), see Frank H. H. King, "Flying Money," *Orient*, 3 (1953): 42–44.

[167] For a discussion of "credit cash" (*pien-ch'ien*), see L. S. Yang, *Money and Credit in China* (Cambridge, 1952), 52. This event was probably drawn from a lost section of *The Digest of Governmental Institutions of the Sung Dynasty*.

[168] Li Yu, *Sung-ch'ao Shih-shih*, 15.5a–7b. For a discussion of the origin and nature of "exchange medium" (*chiao-tzu*), see my "The Evolution of the Early Sung Monetary System," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87 (1967): 288–89.

[169] The events of 1175, 1180, and 1183 are described in *Sheng-cheng*, 54.1b–2b, 58.15a–15b, 60.15b. The matters of 1168 and 1179 were probably drawn from the lost sections of this imperial policy chronicle.

[170] Wu Yung, *Hao-lin Chi* (Collected Papers of Wu Yung) (*Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu Chen-pen* ed.), 15.27b–30b.

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the market price of the respective monies.[171] The "equalization of prices through transportation" system established by Sang Hung-yang in about 115 B.C. derived its name from one of the nine branches of traditional mathematics;[172] Keng Shou-ch'ang, creator of the "ever-normal granary" system (54 B.C.), was noted for his skill in another;[173] and by Sung times an aptitude for calculation was considered an important element in the qualifications of fiscal experts.[174] During the eleventh and twelfth centuries tax quotas were based on triennial averages,[175] and officials attempted to project rates of growth into the future. A bureaucrat assigned the task of overseeing the introduction of the hydrometallurgical technique in state-operated copper mines calculated the costs of production, the rate of increased output, and tried to predict annual savings that would be made in future years.[176] And Sung memorialists and writers nearly always cited relevant statistics to support their arguments. Controlled observation and even experiment were not lacking in Chinese social analysis. It was not the latest but the earliest aspect of the modern scientific method that was missing.

Inference by analogy as a technique of primary and secondary induction is useful in suggesting hypotheses, and, applied to the study of society, it can point out lines of inquiry, reveal the possible existence of functional relationships, and provide a body of data for use in testing the predictive accuracy of general propositions. But the formulation of such hypotheses and their arrangement in an explanatory system is an independent intellectual process. The Chinese never developed the habit of framing generalizations in a hypothetical-deductive form.

Joseph Needham has noted that "Chinese mathematical thought and practice was invariably algebraic, not geometrical," and that "no Euclidean geometry spontaneously developed among them." Although he tries to minimize the implications of Einstein's observation that a major impediment to the independent development of modern science in China was the absence of the formal logical system invented by the Greek philosophers, Needham completely misses the point when he attempts to refute this position by demonstrating that the lack of Euclidean geometry did not

171 (Author unknown), *Kuo-yü* (Discourses on the States) (*SPPY* ed.), 3.10b–12b; Pan Ku, *Ch'ien-Han-shu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty) (*po-na* ed.), 24B.2a–2b. The latter version is translated in Swann, *Food and Money*, 225–28. Descriptions of this event are incorporated into the currency sections of almost all encyclopedias, and it is commonly cited in monetary discussions. Previous scholars have uniformly missed the significance of the passages in which the mother *(mu)* balances the son *(tzu)* or vice versa. In Chinese mathematics the characters for mother and son are respectively used as the denominator and numerator in fractions, or as the consequent and antecedent in ratios.

172 The branch of mathematics is *Chün-shu*. Pan, *Ch'ien-Han-shu*, 24B.13a; Liu Wei, ed., *Chiu-chang Suan-shu* (Mathematical Operations in Nine Sections) (*SPTK* ed.), *chüan* 6.

173 Pan, *Ch'ien-Han-shu*, 24A.17a, 17b; Liu Wei, *Chiu-chang Suan-shu, chüan* 5. Swann misses the significance of the term *shang-kung*. *Food and Money*, 192, 194.

174 Hartwell, "Financial Expertise," 296.

175 Hino Kaisaburo, "Hokusō jidai ni okeru dō, tetsu sanshutsugaku ni tsuite" (Concerning the Output of Iron and Copper during the Northen Sung Period), *Tōyō Gakuhō* (Bulletin of Asian Studies), 22 (1934): 109–10.

176 *SHY*, "Shih-huo" (Fiscal Administration), 34.25a–25b.

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preclude the realization of many successful engineering and scientific discoveries.[177] The hypothetical-deductive method is not the only way to obtain propositions having a high degree of predictive accuracy. Nor is it a necessary condition for isolated achievements in technology or for the understanding of specific aspects of social or natural phenomena. The utility of the hypothetical-deductive method lies in the fact that it is the most efficient and reliable technique yet devised for producing fruitful theoretical statements; it almost inevitably leads to the systematic arrangement of logically related hypotheses and thereby results in that broadening of abstraction that William Letwin views as representing the stages in the advancement of a science.[178] It is possible, though highly improbable, that the transformation of the world brought about by modern science could have been achieved by technology developed by inductive procedures alone. But it would have required several millennia rather than three or four centuries.

However the lack of the logical foundations of modern scientific inquiry may have affected the Chinese study of natural phenomena, and I believe that the effect must have been profound, it was clearly a serious handicap in the development of economic analysis. The evolution, or nonevolution, of an equation of exchange is illustrative.

A widely accepted although still somewhat controversial hypothesis of political economy is the so-called quantity theory of money. It is normally expressed in one of two alternative forms—the Fisher version, $MV=PT$; or the Cambridge version, $M=KY$.[179] Both are twentieth-century formulations, but the different components of these propositions began to be linked together systematically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the early history of the theorum was closely associated with the names of Sir William Petty, John Locke, and Richard Cantillon.[180] Many diverse phenemona of a certain kind can be explained or predicted by tracing them logically to the quantity theory, and the terms of these equations, in turn, are interconnected with propositions about price, national income, production, and other principles or laws that comprise the science of eco-

[177] Joseph Needham, "Poverties and Triumphs of the Chinese Scientific Tradition," in A. C. Crombie, ed., *Scientific Change* (London, 1961), 122, 142.

[178] Letwin, *Origins of Scientific Economics*, 62.

[179] The Fisher version: the total quantity of money in existence (M) times its average velocity of circulation (V) equals the average price of transactions (P) times the total number of transactions in a given period (usually a year) (T). The Cambridge version: the total quantity of money in existence (M) equals the proportion of annual income that individuals or the state holds in the form of money (K) times the level of national income (average price times total output) (Y). These equations are explained in any elementary text on monetary economics. See, for example, A. C. L. Day, *Outline of Monetary Economics* (Oxford, 1957), 247–52. Various positions in the controversy are conveniently brought together in Edwin Dean, ed., *The Controversy over the Quantity Theory of Money* (Boston, 1965).

[180] Arthur Eli Monroe, *Monetary Theory before Adam Smith* (Cambridge, 1923), 213–23, 246–60; Joseph Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (New York, 1954), 316–17; M. W. Holtrop, "Theories of the Velocity of Circulation in Earlier Economic Literature," *Economic History* (a supplement to the *Economic Journal*), 1 (1929): 503–24.

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nomics. Since monetary analysis formed the core of Chinese ideas on the operation of the economy, it would be here, if anywhere, that one would expect to find the appearance of a genuine scientific approach. In fact, the modern researcher can identify in Chinese discussions of monetary problems each of the separate elements required to construct the earlier stages or present versions of the quantity theory.

By the end of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 9) different writers had already expressed the views that the exchange value of money is independent of the cost of the material from which it is manufactured (theoretical cartalism), that the price of currency and goods is a function of their relative exchange values, and that the purchasing power of the medium of exchange is solely a result of its quantity (in the form of money) in relationship to the supply of all other commodities.[181] During the T'ang and Sung periods these ideas were transmitted, reaffirmed, refined, and supplemented through the use of historical analogy and empirical generalization. Some authors duly noted the increments in the demand for money owing to increased production, an expanding money economy, and a growing population.[182] Other writers discussed variations in the supply of currency resulting from changes in the balance of international trade, the destruction of coins by fire, shipwreck, and conversion into plate, and the activity of the counterfeiter.[183] Still others described the effects on the required national stock of money of alterations in the speed of its circulation, the tendency to hoard, and the necessity for individuals to hold cash balances in anticipation of tax payments or the clearing of private debts at designated times during the year.[184] And in 1076 Chang Fang-p'ing wrote a detailed

[181] Hartwell, "Classical Chinese Monetary Analysis," 70–71.

[182] Tung, *Ch'üan T'ang Wen,* 372.20a; Tu, *T'ung-tien, chüan* 9, p. 53; *HCP,* 283.7a; Su Che, *Luan-ch'eng-Chi,* 37.3b–4b.

[183] *HCP,* 283.7a–7b; Han, *Han Ch'ang-li Chi, chüan* 37, pp. 23–24; Li Kou, *Chih-Chiang Li Hsien-sheng Wen-chi,* 16.6b–7a; Fan Chün, *Hsiang-ch'i Chi* (Collected Papers of Fan Chün) (*Chin-hua Ts'ung-shu* [Collection of Chin-hua Authors] ed.), 15.3b–6a; Tung, *Ch'üan T'ang Wen,* 372.20a; Po Chü-i, *Po Shih Ch'ang-ch'ing Chi* (Collected Papers of Po Chü-i) (*SPTK* ed.), 46.6a.

[184] *HCP,* 283.6a–8a; Han, *Han Ch'ang-li Chi, chüan* 37, pp. 23–24; Po, *Po Shih Ch'ang-ch'ing Chi,* 46.4a; Yü Ching, *Yü Hsiang-kung Tsou-yi* (Collected Memorials of Yü Ching) in *Wu-ch'i Chi* (Collected Papers of Yü Ching) (*Kuang-tung Ts'ung-shu* [Collection of Kwangtung Authors] ed.; 1940), A.14b–16a. In an interesting article L. S. Yang attributes the discovery of a velocity theory to Shen Kua. But neither Yang, nor his source, P'eng Hsin-wei, translates or quotes the critical document—*HCP,* 283.6a–8a—in full. A careful reading of the whole text makes it clear that, while Shen may have had some idea about the speed of circulation, he was primarily thinking of cash balances. It is safest, at this point, to say that Shen Kua was vaguely aware of the effect on the value of money of both its quickness in changing hands and changes in the amounts of currency people hold, that he did not clearly distinguish between the two, and that his argument is very imprecise. In any event, practical discussions and policies make it apparent that the Chinese thought primarily in terms of cash balances. The main difference between the Fisher and Cambridge versions of the quantity theorem is that the former stresses the mechanics of circulation (the number of times that an average unit of money changes hands), while the latter emphasizes the motivations leading people to hold cash balances of varying amounts. It is not surprising that the Chinese, who stressed the psychological basis of action, focused on this aspect of the theory of money. It is fortuitous that Yang and P'eng Hsin-wei compare Shen Kua to John Locke since, as Holtrop has pointed out, Locke was the founder of the cash-balance theory in distinction to the velocity theory of Petty and Cantillon. L. S. Yang, "Economic Justification for Spending—An Uncommon Idea in Traditional China," *Studies in*

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description of the means by which the state could control the money supply.[185] But the observations, empirical generalizations, and analytical statements in this list were rarely presented in a hypothetical-deductive form or systematically linked together.

Historical analogism occasionally yielded analytical propositions. An example is Li Kou's mid-eleventh-century assertion:

> If coins are plenteous, their exchange value will be low. If their exchange value is low, then that of all other goods will be high. If there are few coins, their exchange value will be high. If the exchange value of coins is high, then that of all other goods will be low. If the exchange value of goods is high, then the demand for their use will sometimes be deficient. If the exchange value of goods is low, then the sale of stocks of commodities will sometimes be obstructed.[186]

This formulation was based on views expressed in a variety of previous discussions of specific historical problems. It is truly analytical since it attempts to break down a complex phenomenon into its constituent parts and to provide a means of deducing causal relationships without recourse to additional empirical generalizations. Its weakness results from the absence of a careful delineation of the conditions in which it applies.[187] This deficiency could have been remedied by linking it with the other propositions of Chinese monetary theory cited above, and this would have resulted in a restated hypothesis of greater predictive power and wider applicability. But the Chinese normally did not distinguish differences between the relative worth of alternative modes of logical presentation.

The modern student of Chinese economic thought is constantly amazed to find in the same document equal treatment given to statements of widely varying orders of abstraction and analytical significance. In a late eleventh-century discussion of money Fan Chün quoted the proposition of Han Chang-ti's (A.D. 76–88) adviser, Chang Lin: "It is not only grain that is expensive, the hundred commodities are all dear. This is solely owing to the cheapness of currency." But the Sung writer gave no indication that he considered this declaration of any greater or lesser significance to his argument than his own observation that the peasant custom of placing coins in the mouths of corpses before burial was contributing to a diminution in the money supply.[188] The failure to distinguish different orders of con-

Chinese Institutional History, 69; P'eng, *Chung-kuo Huo-pi Shih*, 356; Holtrop, "Theories of the Velocity of Circulation," 509; Hartwell, "Classical Chinese Monetary Analysis," 77–79.

[185] Chang Fang-p'ing, *Lo-ch'üan Chi*, 25.27a–27b. For the date of this document, see *HCP*, 277.17a–21b.

[186] Li Kou, *Chih-Chiang Li Hsien-sheng Wen-chi*, 16.16a.

[187] F. A. Hayek has demonstrated the important role played by "properly stated conditions in which a proposition applies" in distinguishing an empirical generalization from a hypothesis of compositive social theory. "The Uses of 'Gresham's Law' as an Illustration of 'Historical Theory,'" in his *Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics* (London, 1967), 318–20. And Stephen Toulmin makes the issue of "scope" central to his conception in *The Philosophy of Science* (New York, 1953).

[188] Fan Chün, *Hsiang-ch'i Chi*, 15.3b–6a.

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ceptualization severely limited the possibilities for integrating the separate ideas of economic doctrine into an explanatory system and precluded the broadening of abstraction essential to the progress of a science. This was partly owing to the habitual use of the historical-analogical method, which does not naturally lend itself to suggesting subtle differences in levels of generalization—for example, once the analogy was discovered, the problem was often deemed solved. The failure was primarily the result of neglecting to search consciously for general hypotheses.

The nearly exclusive preoccupation with immediate practical problems or controversies, reinforced by the similar nature of past analogical models, was a factor in keeping Chinese thinkers from systematically connecting together the various aspects of economic thought. In his description of the role played by practical men in the development of economics as a science, Joseph Schumpeter notes:

> For most of these thinkers human activity was by no means problematical in itself. They were preponderantly practical men without any specific scientific training and without any inclination to philosophic questioning. A fact had to be doubtful in the eyes of the practical politician in order to appear to them as a question that had to be answered. Moreover, for the solution of problems which happened to arise they brought along intelligence and experience of life and of business but no philosophical equipment. Thus it is explained why in this branch of economic literature so many excellent beginnings led to nothing because they were not followed up beyond the concrete controversy which had occasioned them. We also understand why we find side by side with many diagnoses that were clearly and vigorously formulated some primitive prejudices, why it often happened that details were recognized while the underlying principle was missed, and why the analysis never penetrated beyond what the occasion demanded and in most cases did not attempt any clarification of fundamental issues.[189]

Chinese proponents of historical analogism were, above all else, practical politicians. But this point must not be overstressed. William Letwin has demonstrated that it was this very concern with matters of immediate urgency and the fear of accusations that he was motivated by private interest that led Sir Dudley North to adopt the hypothetical-deductive method that established him as one of the founders of scientific economics.[190] And F. A. Hayek says, "Economic analysis has never been the product of detached intellectual curiosity about the *why* of social phenomena, but of an intense urge to reconstruct a world which gives rise to profound dissatisfaction."[191] What is of decisive importance in the development of a science of society is not the reason for inquiry but an analytic intent and a logical method. And these historical analogism alone could not provide.

Classicism created an even less congenial atmosphere for the development of compositive social theory. The repudiation of postclassical history

[189] Joseph Schumpeter, *Economic Doctrine and Method* (New York, 1967), 23–24.
[190] Letwin, *Origins of Scientific Economics*, 203–13.
[191] Quoted in Popper, *Poverty of Historicism*, 56.

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severely restricted the empirical basis for a study of society, the desire to re-create a "documented" ideal antiquity obviated the problem of explaining an undesigned order in human social behavior, and the exclusive authority of the Confucian canon and the commentary of accepted interpreters eliminated any need for a logical method of demonstration or proof.

Although historical analogism did not, and probably could not, lay an adequate foundation for transforming the accumulated ideas about social phenomena into a science, it did supply Chinese statesmen with a body of empirical rules far more comprehensive than that possessed by legislators in any other society prior to the nineteenth century. Policies derived from these models based on over one thousand years of historical experience were consistent in objectives and yet remarkably effective in meeting changing circumstances. This consistency of general principle and flexibility in specific cases, which characterized government action during most years of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, probably contributed to the rapid social and material progress that distinguished this era of Chinese history. But the classicist interludes during the last decades of the Northern Sung were singularly sterile periods in the progress of social analysis and in the genesis of viable and progressive legislation.[192] And the post-Sung decline in the use of history as a source of empirical models and the establishment of a Neo-Confucian, classicist-moral-didactic orthodoxy might, in many ways, be viewed as marking the beginning of "Traditional China."

[192] I realize that scholars who admire Wang An-shih will find this statement surprising. I am presently studying the effectiveness and effect of policies made during this period, and this remark is based on my preliminary findings. I will only note here, as others have already done, that the bulk of the "reforms" were based on policies advocated, and in some cases enacted, during the earlier years of the dynasty. And this legislation was formulated primarily by historical analogists.

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Order and Growth, Authority and Meaning in Colonial New England

A Review Article by RHYS ISAAC

JOHN DEMOS. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 201. $6.75.

PHILIP J. GREVEN, JR. *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 329. $12.50.

KENNETH A. LOCKRIDGE. *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636–1736*. (The Norton Essays in American History.) New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1970. Pp. xv, 208. $6.95.

MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN. *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. ix, 329, vi. $7.95.

THE PATTERN MADE by the intersecting lines of these four colonial New England community studies appears to epitomize the history of civilization. Beginning with small, isolated, tightly ordered settlements huddled in the woods, we witness the process of growth and expansion and the erosion of traditional values. By the second half of the eighteenth century overcrowding, social stratification, and the ceaseless movement of the uprooted from place to place are all apparent. That such a vivid impression of long-term change should arise from scholarly research is an indication of the power of the techniques of historical demography. This approach, with its revelation of the evolution of basic patterns of everyday life, gives to social history the sense of movement that history at large has lost since the idea of progress was discredited.

The techniques of historical demography here applied were first developed in France and later taken up by such English historians as Peter Laslett and E. A. Wrigley. They make possible a critical and controlled comparison of some basic characteristics of society in the New and Old Worlds. But Philip Greven, Kenneth Lockridge, and John Demos have not been content simply to import techniques and to compare their own findings with those of their masters. They have combined the austere rigors of French historical demog-

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raphy with that imaginative effort to grasp the values and emotions—the "experience"—of the past that is the most distinguished feature of American historical scholarship. A sustained attempt has been made to transcend demography by forcing it to yield conclusions relating to the quality of life as it affected the colonial psyche.

Philip Greven's study of the relationship of families to the land is outstanding for the elegant presentation of barebones demographic data and for the sensitive commentary accompanying it. Kenneth Lockridge chose rather to relegate demographic detail to articles and appendixes, leaving himself free to devote his book to an almost lyrical characterization of the founding and growth of Dedham. John Demos, in his study of the family in seventeenth-century Plymouth, gives new depth to his interpretation of the written record through close attention to such material survivals as houses and furniture as well as through his application of psychological theory. Although it has some of S. C. Powell's rather exclusive institutional bias,[1] Michael Zuckerman's study of eighteenth-century New England town politics contains profound insights concerning collective experience in the past.

The emphasis in these books on both the facts and the quality of life is opportune, for a central problem in early American history is the relationship between articulated ideology and the unsystematized awareness of social structure and process that we refer to as experience. The clearest demonstration of the possibilities of a convergence of intellectual and social history came from Perry Miller. Since then Bernard Bailyn in his momentous studies of the eighteenth century has shown how the essentials of a political culture may be comprehended in epitome and related to structure and experience.[2] A welcome corrective to the elitist bias of Miller and Bailyn is provided by the insights these community studies afford into the colonial past as it confronted ordinary people. Seventeenth-century Andover and Dedham emerge from the pages of Greven and Lockridge as tightly knit communities that rapidly achieved a considerably higher level of stability and continuity than was characteristic of contemporary English villages for which indexes are available. Less than one per cent of adult males migrated in or out of Dedham in any given year, and mortality was markedly lower than in Europe, where a rate of thirty to forty was usual in contrast to Dedham's twenty-eight per thousand at the most. The field system and the form of land allocation adopted in the initial decades make it clear that, far from being liberated by unlimited access to land, the settlers seemed determined "to turn their backs on the wilderness." Less than three thousand acres out of two hundred square miles was divided out in the first twenty years.[3]

[1] Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town* (Middletown, Conn., 1963).

[2] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968).

[3] Lockridge, *A New England Town*, 12, 64–67; Greven, *Four Generations*, 24–40, 48–52. The

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The overwhelming impression of social order arising from the Andover and Dedham studies is of the greatest importance for our conception of the American experience, for order is a function of authority, and both have become central to our understanding of colonial culture. Miller and Bailyn work on the assumption that ideologies not only gave meaning to life (or to politics) but stood in an intimate reciprocal relationship to the perception that men had of their society, being particularly sensitive to the structure of authority and to changes in it. In the two volumes of *The New England Mind* Miller delineates the overarching set of meanings that the leading clergy, society's acknowledged interpreters, gave to their world, and traces with great insight the subtle changes in this canopy of ideas that appeared during the course of nearly a century. Throughout the unfolding of these changes there is a sustained attempt to interpret them in terms of the New World society's unique experience. In this far-reaching endeavor, however, Miller was compelled by the undeveloped character of social history to rely very heavily on intuition. That his approach can grow into systematic history has been demonstrated by Richard Bushman in his study of Connecticut from 1690 to 1765, which takes as its point of departure the Puritan ideology of authority and traces its gradual disordering and transformation.[4] Bushman not only uses sermons and tracts to document the changes, as Miller did, but he unfolds a social interpretation backed by a wide range of evidence (some of it quantified) from the archives. Bushman worked down from the study of "mind" to basic social behavior; Demos, Greven, and Lockridge have worked up from observed uniformities toward ideology.[5]

For the seventeenth century there are striking convergences between findings on the ideological and behavioral planes. Lockridge offers the most explicit treatment of this theme. He contributes notably to a comparative perspective on the American experience with his suggestion that the most powerful drive underlying the Puritan settlement of Dedham was a utopian communitarianism that can be traced back to medieval England but that has also been observed by anthropologists in a wide variety of peasant cultures outside of Europe. The central role of the ideology in creating an integrated society and maintaining ordered behavior is stressed, but Dedham Puritanism appears as the specific form of a generalized impulse, and the aspects of

silence of these books concerning the possible influence of the Indian menace in promoting compact settlement and social solidarity suggests that the inward-looking interpretation of experience can lead to oversights.

[4] Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

[5] An admirable systematic treatment of the relationship of ideology to everyday life is to be found in the writings of Peter L. Berger on the sociology of religion and knowledge. At a time when many Western historians have abandoned the economic determinist model for human behavior without really replacing it, Berger's suggestion that the "human craving for meaning . . . appears to have the force of instinct" deserves profound consideration. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York, 1967), 22. See also Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality—A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York, 1967).

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Puritan Christianity that, transcending the community, bound it to the wider world, are scarcely considered. This is unfortunate since the interconnectedness of religion, morality, and authority would have made a broader cultural perspective valuable for the understanding of the workings of the village itself.[6]

Greven's approach does not lead him to give a systematic treatment of ideological factors in the seventeenth century. His efforts are directed toward carrying the analysis down to the level of family organization, where his sensitive delineation of the patterns of property settlement and inheritance evokes a vivid picture of patriarchal authority underpinning order in the village.

John Demos' contribution to our understanding of order, authority, and ideology provides a challenging contrast. The seventeenth-century world of Plymouth Colony appears to him less tightly ordered than Andover or Dedham. His study of the family as a "primary institution" reveals evidence that the maintenance of peace was problematic and that child-rearing patterns created "a tight cluster of anxieties about aggression." Court records show frequent strife between families and infrequent quarrels within families. He couples this information with an imaginative reconstruction of the spatial arrangement of Old Colony houses and concludes that hostile impulses within the family, arising inevitably from frequent abrasion in congested conditions, were themselves inhibited but were eventually displaced outward in aggression toward neighbors. These fine micro-observations are usefully linked to the known preoccupation with law and order in the Puritan culture. Thus important features of the ideology are related to fundamental mechanisms for the maintenance of stability and the inculcation of authority.[7]

Demos' study is confined to the seventeenth century. When our other community historians turn to the eighteenth century they are tempted by the greater diversity and complexity facing them to concentrate increasingly on process, viewed in a narrow localistic perspective. Both Lockridge and Greven delineate development through time with a skill that ought, if nothing else will, to win for the demographic approach the admiration of historians. From a variety of indicators Greven infers a decline in the eighteenth century in the authority of the patriarchs, whom he had discerned in the first two generations standing rich in acres and years at the center of the lineal kinship networks. Land shortage compelled more than half of the fourth-generation sons to leave Andover whereas in the second generation almost eighty per cent had stayed. Deteriorating conditions are also indicated by a dramatic rise in mortality in the decades following 1715.[8] Lockridge traces different aspects of the same process of change in the course of a lucid analy-

[6] Lockridge, *A New England Town*, 18–24.
[7] Demos, *A Little Commonwealth*, 48–51, 134–39.
[8] Greven, *Four Generations*, 185–99.

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sis of the problems produced by growth over space as well as time. He shows how expansion produced within Dedham both new centers of settlement with conflicting interests and a multiplicity of would-be leaders. The seventeenth-century style of politics, in which the conduct of affairs was largely left to selectmen, changed as the town meeting resumed power from the selectmen and its sessions became more frequent and of longer duration. Proceedings were now characterized by faction, chicane, and rancor, and sometimes by violence. Nor was geographical division the whole story, for different levels of wealth and styles of life came to characterize various centers. Gone was the unified, hierarchic, but homogeneous community of the seventeenth century, for by the mid-eighteenth century the shortage of land available to a growing population was altering the character of social differentiation, creating at one end of the scale a significant group of landless men and at the other a number of aspirant landed gentlemen whose worth was greatly enhanced by the increasing value of land.[9]

Michael Zuckerman's *Peaceable Kingdoms* presents a picture of the eighteenth century in marked contrast to that of the demographers. He surveys at the community level the political culture of provincial Massachusetts, seeking a functional understanding of values and institutions. Not only does he find little change during the period, but he contradicts assumptions about the ideological process at work, suggesting that the decline of Puritan fervor prepared the way for the emergence in the eighteenth century of "operative ideas of appropriate authority" that were tighter than those that had prevailed previously. With superb insight he demonstrates how the town meeting functioned as an engine of authority, compelling and committing rather than liberating, although he also shows that general agreement was a necessary condition for the fulfillment of its function. Commitment to consensus made simple majority rule unacceptable; recourse to arbitration was necessary when even a small minority within a town could not be persuaded.

Zuckerman finds that not only was an ideology of consensus all-pervading, but that there was a very close correspondence between values and behavior. He denies that the constant reiteration of values of peace might be an indication of an awareness of tendencies to conflict.[10]

While the studies of the seventeenth century, especially when juxtaposed with the writings of Perry Miller, offer the beginnings of an integrated understanding of colonial New England culture at that time, such an outline is lacking for the eighteenth century. This is nowhere more apparent than in the uneven treatment accorded the Great Awakening in the books under review. The important recent work devoted to this major upheaval ought to have called forth an intensive search for popular religious manifestations of division and reorientation in community values during the first half of

[9] Lockridge, *A New England Town*, 152. Lockridge has amplified and generalized the important findings put forward in Charles S. Grant, *Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent* (New York, 1961), 99–103.

[10] Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 46–48, 58.

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the eighteenth century. Alan Heimert has given us a compelling picture of the ideological polarization associated with the Awakening and offers superb insights into the social connotations of religious conflict, but, like Perry Miller, he draws almost exclusively on the writings of divines.[11] It is Richard Bushman who has begun to develop a comprehensive social interpretation, stressing the gap created by commericalization between actual behavior and persistent traditional ideals. He sees this gap as a major cause of tension from which release was sought in revivalism.[12] Though concerned with the revolutionary period, Gordon Wood has given a convincing account of radical ideology in similar terms, emphasizing conflict between an irresistible modernization process and the traditional values to which eighteenth-century Americans still adhered. The stress that Wood places on the communitarian (as opposed to the individualistic) thrust of American republican thought makes his findings at the ideological level peculiarly relevant to these community studies.[13] Most recently Jack Greene has erected a persuasive overall interpretation of the colonial experience on a similar perception of divergence between conduct and ideals.[14]

In view of these suggestive leads it is unfortunate that the significance of the Great Awakening is not examined at the community level by Lockridge and Zuckerman, both of whom refer to the upheaval only in passing. Lockridge treats the theme of the divergent behavior and ideals only in the context of secular politics, where he discerns "the experiential basis of a new ideology" and implies (without documentation) that already in 1736 Dedham manifested ideological "beginnings of an opportunistic individualism." Zuckerman sees no divergence until the Revolution undermined the town's status as "the sole source of value for its inhabitants."[15] Greven's book, although limited by its focus and the nature of its sources, makes a fine contribution with the suggestion that the Awakening was a movement with special appeal for the increasing numbers of migrant sons driven by land shortage from the close, familiar village environment. An intense conversion experience once more became a widespread phenomenon in an age of demonstrable social disorder.[16] Insight of this quality is an indication of what may be achieved by the combined application of systematic social and intellectual history to the popular culture of the colonial period.

[11] Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 170–73, 305–07, 503.

[12] Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 187–95.

[13] Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill, 1969), 15, 54, 59, 114–24.

[14] Jack P. Greene, "Search for Identity: An Interpretation of the Meaning of Selected Patterns of Social Response in Eighteenth Century America," *Journal of Social History*, 3 (1970): 189–224.

[15] Lockridge, *A New England Town*, 162, 136, 160; Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 58, 112, 224, 221. For an excellent explicit treatment of divergence between "ideal" and "operational" values that pays attention to divisions in the Church, see Edward M. Cook, Jr., "Social Behavior and Changing Values in Dedham, Massachusetts, 1700–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 27 (1970): 546–80.

[16] Greven, *Four Generations*, 276–79.

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Turning from the relationship between ideology and experience, it is necessary to stress that the structure of such social microcosms as the family and the village cannot be fully understood without reference to that of the society as a whole. The operations of the family must be seen in the context of village and congregation, and the same is true of the latter with respect to the province. Yet Demos' persuasive argument concerning psychological pressures within the family, inferred from a reconstruction of crowded living conditions in the dwellings, is not matched by any attempt at a sketch of the spatial configuration of the houses and fields within the town. Greven stresses the development of kinship networks as an important feature of the close texture of the Andover community, but no outline emerges of overall structure in which clan relationships can be placed. The relationship between patriarchalism and authority in the larger community is implied but not analyzed when he turns to speculate on the way the abridgment of paternal authority may have psychologically prepared Americans for independence from the parent country.[17] Although Lockridge's account of Dedham suggests that the authority of the acknowledged leaders who dominated in the seventeenth century was related to their ability to mediate between the small community and the larger world, he does not make use of this opportunity to inquire into the extent to which the village was structured by its relationship to the whole society of which it was a part.[18]

Zuckerman by contrast is explicitly concerned with the relationship between the towns and the province as a whole. He demonstrates convincingly the prevalence of jealous particularism, establishing that township government did not in general function effectively as an agency for either the executive or the legislative branch of the provincial government. But it does not follow from this, as he assumes, that the power of the center was negligible. Lockridge suggests that the town governments were being both undermined and by-passed in the eighteenth century, and it is unlikely that centralizing tendencies should have been entirely absent in a maturing society with an expanding economy.[19] Zuckerman's narrowly focused study of the relationship between the town and the provincial government should now be matched by a study of the nature and effectiveness of centralizing counter-tendencies during the colonial era. John Waters' study of the Otis family is suggestive of the possibilities of such an investigation. It shows Barnstable as a community whose politics were stabilized under the domination of a family that derived a centralizing orientation from its commercial and political activities. Tensions between particularism and centralism are nevertheless evident throughout the analysis.[20] In further investigation of this issue narrow

[17] *Ibid.*, 138–41, 215–21, 279–82.
[18] Lockridge, *A New England Town*, 45, 146.
[19] *Ibid.*, 137.
[20] John J. Waters, Jr., *The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, 1968), 79–86, 89, 194. A similar theme runs through J. R. Taylor's *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* (Providence, 1954). The limitations on the influence of country towns

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constitutional emphasis should give way to the sort of inclusive, functional approach that is suggested in the concept of urbanization as applied by Charles Tilly to a part of rural France in the eighteenth century.[21]

The account of the internal workings of town politics given in *Peaceable Kingdoms* tends to be negative and does not entirely convince. Narrow definitions and an exclusive concern with office holding form the basis of a sustained argument against the existence of oligarchies in the towns. No positive model is offered of how consensus might have been reached in town meetings, which involved very often over one hundred freemen, and no consideration is given to the possibility suggested by some of Zuckerman's examples that there were towns where the direct rule of the meeting, and the discontinuities associated with it, had rendered office holding so burdensome that local notables sought other channels of influence.[22]

Some of Zuckerman's interpretations may be challenged,[23] but his findings on the basic point of the disjunction of local and central government are unlikely to be reversed. The institutionalized anarchy he reveals offers a striking illustration of Bernard Bailyn's hypothesis concerning the chaotic unpredictability of colonial politics. But a significant shift of emphasis suggests itself. Bailyn stresses the arbitrariness of the imperial establishment as it appeared to a colonial elite who could not control it. His observations on the uncertainties and discontinuities of colonial life are almost entirely presented in explanation of the inability of the executive to construct stable patronage systems.[24] Yet Zuckerman's picture of town politics (reinforced by Lockridge's Dedham findings) suggests that the jealousy and inconstancy of the people assembled in town meetings must be added to the governor's swollen powers as an arbitrary factor confronting an emergent gentry and engendering in them a dark and fearful view of politics. Can the patriot movement among the elite be understood in part as an attempt to consolidate an insecure leadership by amplifying the importance of emotionally charged issues that transcended the pettiness of local politics? Did the attraction of republicanism for such men lie in the mirage of a new polity where local jealousy would be allayed by a sense of public virtue, so that, confidence coming from below, authority would be established above? Can the in-

in the legislature are clearly indicated in Robert M. Zemsky, "Power, Influence, and Status: Leadership Patterns in the Massachusetts Assembly, 1740–1755," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 26 (1969): 502–20.

[21] "Urbanization implies changes . . . that follow from the increased involvement of the members of rural communities in sets of activities, norms, and social relationships that reach beyond the limits of their own localities." Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 11–12. The importance of the effects of such processes of change has been emphasized in J. T. Main's aggregate analysis of revolutionary America into frontier, subsistence, and commercial farming regions. Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, 1965), 7–34, 277–79.

[22] Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 202.

[23] Important conclusions are outlined in Edward M. Cook, Jr., "Local Leadership and the Typology of New England Towns, 1700–1785," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1970, in Boston, Mass.

[24] Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 96–101.

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tensity of New England Federalism be understood in part as a disciplinary republicanism disappointed and redirected toward the creation of a secure frame of authority at the top?[25]

These questions are given point not only by the findings of Zuckerman and Lockridge concerning the undeferential behavior of the town meetings but also by the deteriorating conditions demonstrated by the demographic studies. Popular domination of local politics may have begun to assume a more threatening character as the number of disinherited increased. Enforcement of franchise qualifications could only control the situation in such new conditions at the price of consensus, and hence could not be made operative at all without the backing of a strengthened central authority. The Bailyn reinterpretation of the American Revolution has focused closely on the political culture of an elite whose relationship to the lower echelons of society is scarcely considered.[26] In the light of these studies the question must now be raised as to whether in New England the radicalism of the elite did not owe a great deal to a sense of insecurity stemming from popular discontents that could not be repressed within a framework of authority based on consensus in open town meetings.

Inquiries into the nature of processes at work in such basic units of agrarian society as the family and the village offer a prospect of a more coherent history of the people than might formerly have been considered possible. There are, however, grave difficulties in the construction of a picture of the larger society from the study of the microcosm. It would be misleading to proceed by the simple multiplication of a supposedly typical example. No less deceptive is the temptation to construct a single ideal type from the aggregation of evidence drawn from a wide range of examples. We must seek rather at this level to plot the varieties of experience and to trace divergent or contradictory trends. The aggregate will more often conceal than reveal.

Divergence and contradiction are certainly crucial concepts in the understanding of the eighteenth-century movement toward a plural society. The findings of the books under review, even their conflicting interpretations, serve very well to illustrate this point. The fixity of Andover and Dedham in the seventeenth century may represent only one of a number of patterns. John Demos finds much mobility, and the possibility ought therefore to be considered that an overall pattern of fixed communities in a fluid matrix of mobility prevailed. This is certainly the picture that Greven suggests for the eighteenth century when, having stressed the continuity and stability characteristic of life for that minority of the fourth generation that stayed in Andover, he proceeds to point up superbly the importance of contrasting experiences, noting that whereas the Great Awakening passed Andover by, it

[25] Zuckerman's assertion that "the Revolution was largely formed in the towns" seems to misplace the source of initiative and is not documented. He is on safer ground when he argues that the tradition of popular government in the towns enabled the Revolution to give rise "to an entirely new orientation to authority." *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 223, 230.

[26] Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 96–105.

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cut a swath through many of the towns to which Andover's disinherited sons had migrated.[27] Similar dichotomies may well turn out to be of great importance, such as those between towns where the communitarian ideals controlled behavior and those where it failed, with resultant schism. The possibility of opposed developments in the direction of particularism and centralization has already been noted. The study of contradictions in the evolution of colonial society should help to put an end to the futile quest for such simple categorizations as "democratic" or "deferential" to cover all its complexities.

The four New England community studies make clear the high level of discussion that the best in colonial history has attained. Humane and sensitive handling of demographic data and the documents of parochial politics transcends timeworn historiographical debates. More basic issues now emerge for which sociology, anthropology, and psychology offer suggestive but uncertain guidance. We are presently confronted by fundamental questions concerning the nature of order and authority in a traditional society, and these questions have been given added point by researches into the ideological transformations wrought by adaptation to growth and expansion in the New World environment and by the first great secular revolution of our era. The continuation and extension of such inquiries at all levels should ensure that the early history of America—not only of New England—will remain an ideal laboratory for historians, and that their findings will be of interest to the social sciences at large.

[27] Greven, *Four Generations*, 256–58, 279; see also 171–72.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

MARIA LUISA AMBROSINI, with MARY WILLIS. *The Secret Archives of the Vatican.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1969. Pp. xii, 366. $10.00.

The preface tells us that the purpose of this book is "to give the readers some idea of the treasure that humanity . . . possesses in the Secret Archives of the Vatican." The author has not attempted "to explain in detail the contents and structure of the Secret Archives," but "to follow their story . . . and to give a glimpse of what they contain, or may have contained, in the light of the times that produced them."

Distinguishing carefully between the Vatican Library and Archives (in separate buildings with separate staffs and permission privileges), the author points out that "they are twin—and sometimes rival—organizations." The now immense Archives, grown from the letters of Peter and Paul to "some twenty-five miles of bookshelves laden with parchment and paper manuscripts of historical value," have their main groupings, the *fondi* ("Fink lists 75, another authority 130"), as well as the hundreds of thousands of incidental documents that often tell us more about the life of a man in the past than do the official records. Coursing through the centuries, the author chooses now this and now that set of archival documents to illustrate the richness of the collection or to liven up her narrative. From Constantine to Napoleon, from Pope Sylvester II to Galileo, from Gregory I to Pius II, for almost any personage in history's hall of fame some archival materials can be brought out. At times the illustration may verge on the murder-mystery type ("The Case of Beatrice Cenci"), or tell of incredible witch hunts, or relate the story of Napoleon's daring robbery in 1810 when ox-drawn wagons carted off some three thousand cases of materials. An even worse disaster occurred when it was decided to cut down on the shipping costs of returning the documents to Rome by selling a great quantity of them in Paris for cardboard!

The constant build-up of the archives followed by their destruction is repeated like a symphonic movement. There is the immense loss of materials in the fifth century when Alaric sacked Rome for three days and the Vandals for fourteen. In these troubled times the Acts of the Martyrs disappeared, for Gregory I (590–604) complained that they were gone by his time "except for a very few in a single book." The archives were again destroyed in the time of the "iron popes," when the papacy was almost the plaything of warring Italian nobility. Next came the destruction wrought by the Normans at the end of Gregory VII's life (1085), and finally by the Roman revolution of 1234 with its consequent sacking of the Lateran. Yet the Vatican Archives, like the miraculous Egyptian phoenix, always manages to rise from its own ashes. Thus the materials have finally come down to us, now separated from the Vatican Library (by the Borghese Pope Paul V in 1612) and known as the Vatican Secret Archives.

The story is told in a fascinating way and is crammed with archival anecdotes enticing researchers to come and delve in what is "perhaps the most important archive of the world." But the book ends with the grim thought of what little may survive a future atomic war, although it does indicate a hope that perhaps the United Nations may be able to protect archival materials at a time when the ancient Mass

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prayer used in time of plague may be used against atomic fallout.

L. J. DALY, S.J.
Saint Louis University

M. E. NAIDENOV, editor. *Ocherki po istoriografii sovetskogo obshchestva* [Essays on the Historiography of Soviet Society]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1967. Pp. 318.

V. I. SALOV. *Sovremennaia zapadnogermanskaia burzhuaznaia istoriografiia: Nekotorye problemy noveishei istorii* [Contemporary West German Bourgeois Historiography: Some Problems of Recent History]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 381.

To read these two historiographical studies is to be reminded how little has changed since Stalin's day with regard to Soviet historical writing on the peculiarly sensitive twentieth century. For all their appearance of comprehensiveness and detail, the authors studiously avoid "un-persons" and "un-books" and gingerly walk the chalk line of Marxist-Leninist interpretation as drawn by party ideologists.

M. E. Naidenov has edited a volume of essays by thirteen authors on a variety of Soviet subjects and has contributed the leading survey of works on the October Revolution. Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Bukharin reappear in print but only in a context of opprobrium. Trotsky is held responsible for the "betrayal" at Brest-Litovsk but plays no part in the civil war (indeed, there seems to be no Bolshevik supreme commander). There is a detailed survey of studies on Soviet trade-union developments in the 1920s without Tomsky and of disarmament efforts without Litvinov. In an essay on agricultural problems after 1945 there is no Khrushchev—only "mistakes of leadership."

Soviet works wax, wane, and are eclipsed. Pokrovsky is highly esteemed, with no hint that for twenty years his name was anathema. Stalin's *Short Course,* whose pernicious influence was once openly discussed, is here rejected in measured terms, befitting the dictator's currently improving image. E. N. Burdzhalov's courageous campaign to clean the Augean stables of Stalinist falsification is left out, although the Twentieth Party Congress, which inspired him, is recognized as a turning point for Soviet historians. A study of a hundred works on the Great Patriotic War does not mention *June 22, 1941,* whose criticism of Stalin became a *cause célèbre* in 1966, bringing vilification and party expulsion to its author A. M. Nekrich.

Although V. I. Salov's title suggests a comprehensive work, it is confined to studies on Germany and Russia in this century. Salov ascribes to West German historians the goals and working conditions of his Soviet colleagues. He sees their work as an ideological campaign, produced in numerous research institutes, coordinated and subsidized (sometimes with Rockefeller money) by Bonn to strengthen its authority and to denigrate the USSR. The intensity and flavor of Salov's bias can be gauged by this generalization: "The ominous characteristic of West German historiography is the propagation and reinforcement of neo-Nazi conceptions, the repeated attempts at the rehabilitation of fascism, reflecting the activization of neo-Nazi forces in the policies of the German Federal Republic."

The progenitors of this reactionary school were Friedrich Meinecke and Gerhard Ritter, condemned by Salov for advocating German nationalism and militarism. Their soul-searching works written after 1945 are not sufficiently discussed to damage the stereotype. A hundred younger historians are shoe-horned into the same category, with "Sovietologists" Georg von Rauch, Boris Meissner, and Günther Stökl drawing special fire. The only good West German historians are those labeled "progressive," that is, pro-Soviet. By discussing their views Salov may produce a boomerang effect among his Soviet readers, who will no doubt covet the wider range of freedom and lack of prefabricated interpretations in "fascist" West Germany.

These works are not only biased but ephemeral. If the essays on Soviet historiography had been written in 1956 or 1962, they would have been much harsher with Stalin. If Salov were going to press in 1971, he would no doubt soften his views on West German historians, in keeping with the Soviet reception of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik.*

LOWELL R. TILLETT
Wake Forest University

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PHILIP MASON. *Patterns of Dominance.* New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London. 1970. Pp. xii, 377. $11.50.

With accusations and counteraccusations of racism cannonading across so many forums of contemporary public discourse, there is undoubtedly great need for a sober analysis of how attitudes toward race have evolved and functioned in various historical situations. Philip Mason, director of the London Institute of Race Relations since its foundation in 1958, possesses a number of the qualifications for undertaking such a study. Unfortunately his most recent work is far too loose in structure and derivative or impressionistic in research to satisfy a scholarly audience. The "wider public than the specialist and academic" for which it claims to be intended may appreciate the clarity and sensibility of Mason's writing style, but they will find his general arguments difficult to follow.

The best sections of *Patterns of Dominance* are those dealing with the New World, where interesting insights are given into Brazilian, Caribbean, and Spanish American race relations. For these chapters, however, Mason relies heavily upon yet unpublished companion volumes in the same IRR series by David Maybury-Lewis, David Lowenthal, and Julian Pitt-Rivers. Any serious discussion of the arguments presented must thus await the appearance of these works. But the present comparative effort can be criticized for not including a systematic treatment of the United States. Mason's excuse is that "the literature on the United States is so vast that I do not feel competent to add to it usefully."

The principles of selection and organization throughout this volume seem to be based upon the author's immediate knowledge and inclinations rather than any systematic overview. The opening sections are supposed to define the problems with which Mason will deal, but they are interspersed with short case studies on such varied societies as Ruanda, ancient Greece, and New Zealand. An attempt at confronting the theories on race relations of various sociologists results in the creation of several new charts and diagrams. These fail entirely to inform the rest of the work, although a few, such as the one comparing attitudes toward intergroup sexual relations, have an interest of their own.

Mason devotes a long and fascinating section to the role of traditional caste systems in India. But, since the main theme of his book seems to be the social situations emerging from Western overseas expansion, one wonders what this discussion is doing here, other than to prove that Europeans are not alone in practicing harsh discrimination.

Another two chapters on southern Africa add little to the extensive literature already published on this area. Nothing at all is said about the obviously parallel racial conflicts in Southeast Asia. (Is this because the requisite volume in the series has already appeared in print?)

Out of this uneven melange of treatises a few general points emerge, but to list them here would make the book appear more banal than it actually is. The real unifying theme is Mason's ambivalent commitment to order and faith on the one hand and to liberty and rationality on the other. To the extent that he believes these can be or—as in South Africa—could have been reconciled, Mason still reflects the establishment liberalism that inspired him in the past as an enlightened colonial administrator and a respected writer on Indian and African affairs. Such an attitude is not to be despised simply because it is dated, but in the absence of original scholarship it does leave a book like this with little hope of making any significant impact upon its readers.

RALPH A. AUSTEN
University of Chicago

LESLIE BETHELL. *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869.* (Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 424. $13.50.

The Atlantic slave trade, American slavery, the abolition of both, and Brazil are prime ingredients for comparative histories. Now Leslie Bethell, by extensively utilizing archival materials supplemented by both new and traditional secondary sources, has written what could become the standard account of British-Brazilian relations vis-à-vis the nineteenth-century slave trade and its abolition.

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The scope of the book is ambitious: Bethell modestly notes that he tries to examine the slave trade question so that his book is "as much a contribution to Brazilian as to British history"; that it is also a contribution to Portuguese history; and that "above all, perhaps, it is a study in Anglo-Brazilian relations." Bethell poses three basic questions: How did the Brazilian slave trade, a major pillar of the Brazilian economy, become illegal? Why did it take more than twenty years to suppress once it became illegal? and, How was it finally abolished? In response to the first question, the early chapters underline the growing involvement of Britain in Brazil (1807–26). The emphasis of the book lies, however, in the answer to the second question, for the bulk of the study is devoted to exhaustive analysis of the slave trade; to the various treaty negotiations; to the British navy, the mixed commissions, and the extension of British power; to slavery and sugar duties; and to the Aberdeen Act. The final chapters cogently consider the changing attitudes and activities that ultimately achieved abolition of the slave trade and candidly appraise the lukewarm relationship that resulted from British imperial insensitivity to Brazilian national honor.

The book reveals thorough research in large collections of British official papers and consular reports as well as in selected Brazilian archival sources. But it has its shortcomings. Bethell's heavy reliance on British documentation, particularly consular correspondence, necessarily places the emphasis of this traditional study on the Anglo side of the historical partnership. What we really read is British officialdom's assessment of its diplomatic struggle for domination over a contrary but valuable new nation. Furthermore, while Bethell stresses moral and economic considerations for Britain's involvement in ending the slave trade, he does not satisfactorily analyze the supranational effects, economically and politically beneficial to Britain, of the trade's abolition.

Bethell's book was probably in press when Philip Curtin's pioneering *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census* appeared in 1969. Although Bethell has carefully sifted statistical accounts, the reader should consult Curtin's quantifications, since they raise other subtle questions concerning abolitionist motivations.

Within the narrow confines of diplomatic history Bethell's study meets its avowed purposes. It is a solid chapter in British imperial history, with Brazil appearing as a well-documented junior partner, and it marks a point of departure for the social, economic, and cultural histories that remain to be written.

ANN PESCATELLO
Washington University

D. P. SINGHAL. *India and World Civilization*. In two volumes. [East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 435; 384. $25.00 the set.

This work attempts more than it accomplishes. It falls among that recently growing number of writings in "universal" or "macro-" history now fashionable for college courses. W. H. McNeill's *The Rise of the West* (1963) and *A World History* (1967) are perhaps the most successful; but G. R. Quale's *Eastern Civilizations* (1966), P. T. Welty's *The Asians* (1963), and other works contend to meet market demands to correct the earlier imbalance, the almost exclusive emphasis upon Western civilization.

In lucid prose, accompanied by occasional flashes of imagination and fascinating side-excursions, the author tries to show just how distinctive India's civilization was. Indeed, in describing its vitality, tracing its continuity, explaining its adaptability, and proclaiming its contribution, he conveys an impression that the very genius of civilization itself may have been India's legacy to the world. Beginning with Harappan cities, Dr. Singhal proceeds to the rise of Aryan civilization, compares this with Iranian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic cultures, and traces increasing contacts with India during Persian, Greek, and Roman imperial ascendency. These he characterizes as having produced a seldom surpassed era of cultural syncretism. During a millennium between the fall of Rome and the rise of the West, he feels that social disintegration, political disruption, and cultural stagnation gradually eroded Indian strength. Even so, Arabs transmitted Indian science and folklore to Europe; and the Romanies (or gypsies) left India carrying Indian lore with

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them. Yet India's finest contributions to civilization lay in the East. The vehicle of this influence was Buddhism. This produced "a great spiritual and cultural community throughout Asia." Moreover, for over two thousand years, India and China "maintained . . . peaceful contact." This association "influenced all aspects of life and thought in the two countries." But the impact was one-sided—India upon China, not the reverse. Elsewhere, especially in Southeast Asia, direct contact brought cultural blends. Segments of Indian culture even stretched across the Pacific Ocean and benefited ancient American civilizations.

India then experienced antagonistic encounters, first with Islam and then with Europe. The advent of Islam, the author declares, was "the first major impact of an alien culture on Indian Hindu society," was "the most important event since the coming of the Aryans," one in which neither side lost its identity and in which each borrowed from the other. The dichotomy produced had far-reaching repercussions. Europe also brought two centuries of exploitation. Yet an enthusiastic exchange between ancient Indian learning and modern European technology occurred. This broke India's long sleep and led to renaissance and modernization. Finally, Dr. Singhal sees India as having given much to a new unified world civilization.

Several minor themes, colorful and lively, stimulate curiosity, if not controversy. But the overall work, if assessed for originality, thoroughness, or authority, is disappointing. Documentation is inadequate at best. Categorical pronouncements, sweeping oversimplifications, and pretensions to universality too often substitute for theory and hypothesis. Such failings are more common for the modern period (for example, pp. 197–207). Such extravagance limits the usefulness of these volumes.

ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number 22. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1968. Pp. xii, 228. $15.00.

The initial papers in this volume derive from a symposium on "Justinian and Eastern Christendom" held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1967. In the first paper George H. Forsyth reports on Justinianic materials found in recent investigations conducted at Mt. Sinai's St. Catherine Monastery, with more than only artistic interest involved. Edward R. Hardy's paper traces "The Egyptian Policy of Justinian," but it is somewhat disappointing in that, for the most part, it cleaves so closely to the author's earlier book (1952) on the Egyptian church. The most broadly valuable of the three papers is John Meyendorff's masterful "Justinian, the Empire, and the Church": in two parts, it considers first Justinian's "caesaropapistic" policies and efforts and then the theological developments of the period, giving the most up-to-date synthesis on this total subject. Not included in the volume, for various reasons, are other symposium papers devoted to Justinian's antiheretical legislation; to his relations with the Christians of Persia, the heretical churches of Syria and Mesopotamia, and the Arab world; and to the important Origenist movement in sixth-century doctrinal controversy. Thus, the three papers offered here give only a partial idea of the scope of the 1967 symposium, but Father Meyendorff, as its director, does present at the volume's end a brief synopsis of the meeting as a whole.

The remainder of the volume deals almost entirely with art history and archeology, both in the three major papers and in shorter notes. The longest paper of the whole volume is David C. Winfield's "Middle and Later Byzantine Wall Painting Methods: A Comparative Study" (seventy-eight pages plus plates), a pioneering effort that synthesizes a great deal of valuable information for the first time on such a large scale. In the two remaining papers, Erica Cruikshank Dodd presents the second supplement to her book (1961) on Byzantine silver stamps, while Ernest J. W. Hawkins reports on the cleaning and restudy of the great narthex mosaic over the Imperial Door in Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. It is disappointing that Hawkins reports no results that might lead to a more definite identification of the emperor (usually said to be Leo VI) shown in the mosaic. In the volume's notes Cyril Mango describes a Bithynian monastery, its remains, and its historical associations; he and Hawkins report some new findings at the Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) in Istan-

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bul; accounts of work at two other Istanbul sites are given by Cecil L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, on Kalenderhane Cami (the Akataleptos Monastery?)—which includes some interesting frescoes of St. Francis from the Latin Conquest period—and by R. Martin Harrison, Nezih Firatli, and John W. Hayes, on Saraçane (St. Polyeuktos); and, finally, James Morganstern gives a preliminary report on his work at a church at Dereağazi, in southern Anatolia, Turkey.

In accordance with its contents this volume has even more plates than is usual in the series, all excellently produced in monochrome, with one welcome and beautiful, if all too scant, venture into color.

JOHN W. BARKER
University of Wisconsin, Madison

DAVID M. WILSON. *The Vikings and Their Origins: Scandinavia in the First Millennium.* (Library of Early Medieval Civilizations.) New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1970. Pp. 144. $5.95.

AKSEL E. CHRISTENSEN. *Vikingetidens Danmark: Paa oldhistorisk baggrund.* (Københavns Universitets Fond til Tilvejebringelse af Læremidler.) Copenhagen: Gyldendal. 1969. Pp. 307.

PETER G. FOOTE and DAVID M. WILSON. *The Viking Achievement: A Survey of the Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia.* (Great Civilizations Series.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xxv, 473. $12.50.

Scandinavia in Viking times represents a seemingly inexhaustible theme of interest to scholar and general public alike—a fact that these three quite different books make abundantly clear. Though in general they present contrasting views of the subject, two of them, David Wilson's book on the Vikings and their origins and Aksel Christensen's study of the Viking age in Denmark, show a certain similarity in emphasizing developments in Scandinavian history and culture just prior to the Viking period itself. Some forty per cent of the Christensen volume and over half of Wilson's deal with this earlier period. This emphasis is of great importance, since the age is generally slighted by historians who deal with the Vikings, despite its importance to an understanding of Scandinavian society between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. Once this has been noted, however, one needs to emphasize the differences between the two books. Christensen traces with meticulous care all we know concerning the geography, the archeology, the religion, and the early history of the Danes and Denmark before 800 A.D. Wilson's shorter, more popular study is broader in scope, dealing with all of Scandinavia, and since it is rather brief, it is perforce more general in its treatment. At the same time its wealth of excellent color illustrations brings the pre-Viking period to life in a special way. Both books perform an important service for scholar and educated lay reader alike.

When one reaches the age of the Vikings, however, both books are somewhat less satisfactory than other accounts found in recent works by Brøndsted, Jones, Sawyer, and others. In Wilson's case this is because he has compressed his treatment of the Viking period into two very short chapters of about sixty pages, including illustrations. In the case of Christensen it is perhaps because his treatment of Denmark during this period is so traditional that he is loath to accept new and challenging interpretations. One is disappointed, for instance, to find that he dismisses rather cursorily the challenging ideas of Sawyer, Bolin, and others concerning the circulation of money or patterns of colonization in favor of older views. Both books, however, give us important needed surveys of pre-Viking Scandinavia and explain its relation to the age that followed. Christensen's, in addition, contains a full bibliography of special interest because it lists important works in Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian not generally known by scholars who are not themselves Scandinavian.

Important as these two books are, however, it is the third and more complete work by David Wilson and Peter Foote that deserves particular attention. This book, entitled *The Viking Achievement,* is a rather remarkable survey of Scandinavian society between the late ninth and the late thirteenth centuries, something not available before in any language. It shows us Scandinavian society, government, daily life, trade and towns, transport, warfare, art and literature, and law and religion during this period in a fashion that is both complete and, at the same time, beautifully organized and analytical. This spread over five centuries is particularly necessary when dealing with medieval Scandinavia, because a great deal of what we know of Viking society in Iceland, Norway, Denmark, and Swe-

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den comes not from archeology or contemporary accounts but from later material found in histories, sagas, law codes, and the like, which date from the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Too many scholars have read these accounts back into earlier centuries to explain the society of the Viking period. At best this is a dangerous procedure, even though we can assume a wide degree of social continuity as well as social change during these years. By including in their narrative the Iceland and Norway of Hákon Hákonsson and Snorri Sturluson, the Denmark of the Valdemars, and the Sweden and Gotland of Knut Eriksson, the authors of this volume have been able to give us a more accurate and satisfactory picture of Scandinavian society during the period of its great medieval accomplishments in the political, military, economic, maritime, and cultural spheres.

Yet a nagging question protrudes. To what extent can we be sure of continuity between the Viking age and that of the Sturlings and Valdemars, which did so much to describe this earlier era for us? To what extent did Christianization and other elements of Western European medieval civilization bring about a real break in Scandinavian society in the very middle of the period described by this book? One senses a break of a definite sort in Swedish society about the middle of the eleventh century, something of the same kind of break a little later in Denmark, and a less abrupt, but nonetheless real, schism in the development of society in Iceland and Norway. Can we always be sure, therefore, despite the fine work of Professors Wilson and Foote, that we can truly understand how the society of Scandinavia of the High Middle Ages is related to that of Arnund Jacob, Harold Fairhair, and Sven Forkbeard? We can only thank these authors for their valiant and largely successful effort to make the society of this period come alive for us.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

GÜNTHER FRANZ. *Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes: Vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert.* (Deutsche Agrargeschichte, Volume 4.) Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer. 1970. Pp. 288. DM 52.

The publication of this book marks the completion of the history of German agriculture, written in five volumes under the editorship of Günther Franz, which began to appear almost a decade ago. The present work is in some respects the most important in the series, for, as the author points out in his preface, it is "the first attempt to write a history of the peasant class, indeed, of a German class in general." Yet it is not in fact a complete historical account of the peasantry of Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century but is rather an initial step toward such an account. It is a Baedeker or a Ploetz. It divides the history of the peasant class into seventeen topics, each of which has in turn been divided into from two to eleven subtopics. The result is that not much has been omitted, yet not much has been included either. There is an episodic quality about a book that attempts to stuff a thousand years of history into fewer than three hundred pages. While what the author has to say is soundly buttressed by frequent footnotes and impressive bibliographies, the final product is a handbook more than an integrated narrative. The volume will nevertheless prove useful to students of the economic history of Germany.

Günther Franz describes intelligently though cursorily the main aspects of the development of the peasantry of Central Europe. He outlines its legal status, economic position, social structure, political role, and military function. He depicts the effect on the rural masses of the eastward migration, the Peasants' War, the Thirty Years' War, and the French Revolution. He portrays the world of ideas in which the rustics lived—their education, their faith, and their allegiance. In short he offers us a guide to the historical experience of an important social class. Although his work does not seek primarily to advance a point of view or to resolve a problem of interpretation, it does present a compilation of facts that the scholar of the future will find useful in writing a comprehensive history of the German peasantry.

THEODORE S. HAMEROW
University of Wisconsin, Madison

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR. *Robinson Crusoe's Island: A History of the Juan Fernández Islands.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. xxvii, 267. $8.50.

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This is a book to be read when one's work is finished for the day. *Robinson Crusoe's Island* is a light, enjoyable, and unimportant study of three small islands located some four hundred miles off the Chilean coast. The group, the Juan Fernández or Robinson Crusoe's Islands, while influenced greatly by the north-surging Humboldt Current remained outside the main currents of history that washed about the South American continent. The author Ralph Lee Woodward, now of Tulane University, explains that after a delightful visit to the major island he "resolved to investigate its history further. . . . This turned out to be a bigger job than . . . anticipated and what was begun as an article has become the book . . ." (p. xxvii). Personally I am delighted at the extension of the original project; from a professional point of view, the author should have kept the study a scholarly article.

Excepting the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the islands often were a haven for pirates, privateers, and explorers, the Juan Fernández group was too small, too underpopulated, and too distant from the mainland to influence or to be influenced by the primary historic patterns affecting the mainland of the Americas. Other than vignettes the reader learns only how apart the islands were from the histories of either Spanish America or trans-Pacific trade. Apparently the movements for independence (1810–24) did not affect significantly the island group, and although "sea power was the key to Chilean success in this war [of the Pacific (1879–83)] . . . the islands of Juan Fernández seem to have been little involved, lying well outside the theatres of action along the coast" (p. 210). Thus we are not surprised that the courts of Chile in the 1840s ruled that the islands were in "a natural state, without police and without law" (p. 179). As if apologizing for his subject's isolation, the author injects unsupported assumptions into his book. Such is his claim that "the experience of [Manuel de] Sales, [Juan] Egaña and many others [as prisoners] on Juan Fernández was important in bringing them to the conclusion that independence was the only solution to Chile's problems" (p. 124). Those who have studied the development of the political ideas of the Chilean *pensadores* might regard this view as balanced on the nether edge of simplicity.

Yet there is no need to apologize for this chatty and episodic study. For those who might complain of the book's inclusion of trivia, there will be many who will turn with relief from important (but often dreary) court records and company papers to read of the island "rising like a deep blue cloud out of the sea." Surely the study of history is as much avocation as vocation.

THOMAS M. BADER
San Fernando Valley State College

ANOUAR LOUCA. *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIX^e siècle.* (Études de littérature étrangère et comparée.) Paris: Didier. 1970. Pp. 362.

The discovery of Europe in the nineteenth century was the most momentous event in the history of the Arabs in about a thousand years. The people who did the discovering were the Lebanese and, more important, the Egyptians. And Europe meant, of course, France, more precisely Paris. The subject of this book therefore constitutes a significant chapter in the modern history of the Arab world.

Egyptian travelers to France have been divided by the author into three groups: members of scholastic missions, starting in 1826; liberal journalists during the second half of the century; and literary-minded tourists at the end of the period. Of these the students, especially the early ones, are perhaps the most interesting. For one thing, they had had practically no contact with Western ways before embarking from Alexandria. For another, many of them made a deep impact on the cultural, educational, and administrative institutions of Egypt. Most remarkable were Rifaa al-Tahtawi, who witnessed and was greatly impressed by the July Revolution and who later undertook extensive translation, editing, and writing; and Ali Mubarak, who became minister of education and was largely responsible for the modernization of Egypt's school system. The travel account written by Tahtawi still makes pleasant and instructive reading.

As the author points out, the picture that Egyptian students, journalists, and men of letters had of France formed a diptych. On the one hand there was the Mother of Revolutions and the Liberator of Oppressed Nationalities—

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the latter notion managed to survive until the Entente Cordiale of 1904. And on the other there was the representative of modern scientific and technological civilization. All things considered, the Arabs could have chosen worse models!

The book is based on very wide documentation and thorough research. Its value is greatly enhanced by a comprehensive bibliography and, unlike so many French books, it has an index. It will prove very useful to students of the intellectual and social history of the Middle East. If to a wider circle of readers it presents only limited interest, that is hardly the author's fault. The fact is that the Arab renaissance, although of crucial importance in its region, has little worldwide significance.

CHARLES ISSAWI
Columbia University

J. N. WESTWOOD. *Witnesses of Tsushima.* Tokyo: Sophia University, in cooperation with the Diplomatic Press, Tallahassee, Fla. 1970. Pp. xii, 321. $15.00.

For decades after the climactic sea battle of Tsushima Strait, where Togo shattered Russian dreams in May 1905, the defeated seamen and officers suffered a reputation as dolts, crooks, incompetents, or traitors. With the rehabilitation of nationalism in the Soviet Union, the image has been attenuated. Thus, in its short history of the USSR, the Academy of Sciences notes that at Tsushima "the Russian sailors displayed miracles of heroism and splendid fighting qualities."

Although the wheel may have turned full circle, we have long been obliged to rely upon uneven and unreliable sources, such as Novikov-Priboi's documentary novel *Tsusima,* for details of Russian naval morale and capability. Now in J. N. Westwood we have a British specialist in Russian studies and in naval affairs who has culled Russian, English, and French sources for material by witnesses. The author uses some Japanese accounts in Russian translation, but the preponderance of his forty observers are Russian.

Westwood commences with a helpful twenty-five-page survey of Russian warships and naval policy and an adequate review of the Japanese side. After examining the beginnings of naval operations in Far Eastern waters in 1904, he proceeds from the fitting out of the Second Pacific Squadron in European Russia, to the serio-comic Dogger Bank affair, the long eastward voyage, the absurd reinforcement by an even feebler flotilla, and the fatal dénouement awaiting the iron coffins. Bridging the translations from memoirs, diaries, reports, and correspondence are factual, germane, and well-written passages by the author. With the tenacity of the naval buff, Westwood has located rare photos, but he supplies no track charts, which would have been helpful in following the early maneuvers of the gunnery battle.

Memorable human-interest episodes abound: the sad sailor musing that "it must have been dragons who arranged all this"; Yushchin alone escaping the watery grave of nine hundred crewmates aboard *Borodino;* the last dozen doomed men cheering from the keel of capsized *Aleksandr III.* Nebogatov, the admiral with the "hermit's face, eczema, and baggy trousers," comes off creditably; Admiral Rozhestvensky, rather poorly. Admiral Togo emerges befuddled by lapses in staff intelligence. These uncommon interpretations reflect Westwood's conscientious effort to demonstrate that the Russians were not uniquely incompetent, the Japanese not unblemished supermen. The author is right, of course, and his dramatic but overpriced book is a welcome addition to the scattered literature dealing with the Tsushima campaign.

ALVIN D. COOX
San Diego State College

ISAAC DEUTSCHER. *Russia, China, and the West: A Contemporary Chronicle, 1953–1966.* Edited by FRED HALLIDAY. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 360. $7.00.

HÉLÈNE CARRÈRE D'ENCAUSSE and STUART R. SCHRAM. *L'U.R.S.S. et la Chine devant les révolutions dans les sociétés pré-industrielles.* (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. Travaux et recherches de science politique, Number 8.) Paris: Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 107.

These two books, although both deal with the Soviet Union and China, are quite different in purpose and method. *Russia, China, and the West,* compiled and edited by Fred Halliday, contains a selection of the journalistic writings of Isaac Deutscher on Soviet for-

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eign and domestic politics. The volume includes more than sixty political commentaries written by Deutscher during the period from 1953 to 1966. Some of Deutscher's interpretations of developments in Soviet politics have suffered from the passage of time and the consequent availability of more information; however, most of the selections stand up well and are a credit to the perceptiveness of the author.

The subjects covered range from the downfall of Beria and the struggle for leadership in the Soviet Union in the mid-fifties to changes in Soviet policies after the overthrow of Khrushchev and the "great cultural revolution" in China. The major theme of Deutscher's analyses—if a major theme is present—is the interrelationship of domestic and foreign policy in the Soviet Union and the need always to view developments in one area in the light of the other.

Russia, China, and the West does not really add to our knowledge or understanding of Soviet politics or of the Sino-Soviet dispute, but it does bring together a large portion of the more popular writings of one of the most important students of Soviet politics in the past quarter century.

In *L'U.R.S.S. et la Chine devant les révolutions dans les sociétés pré-industrielles* Hélène d'Encausse and Stuart Schram provide a brief but lucid survey of the evolution of Soviet and Chinese attitudes toward developing countries. As they point out in the conclusion, each of the two Communist giants has emphasized one of two major elements that have characterized Marxism—the overthrow of capitalist exploitation by revolution and the achievement of economic development and of man's domination over nature. For the Chinese revolutionary purity takes precedence, while the Soviets have been willing to sacrifice revolutionary purity for the sake of effectiveness.

After presenting a concise description of the revolutionary processes in Russia and China—both before and after the seizure of power—the authors proceed to examine the divergence in the Soviet and Chinese prescriptions for change in the "third world" and the relationship of these prescriptions to the revolutionary experience of each country. Until the end of the 1950s and the development of the Soviet theory of national democracy, the views of the CPSU and the CCP on national liberation were quite similar. During the 1960s, however, the Chinese increasingly emphasized not only the need for violent revolution but also the applicability of their own revolutionary experience to the rest of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Soviets, meanwhile, emphasized the possibilities of the peaceful evolution of "scientific socialism" in the developing world and the progressive role of nationalist leaders.

D'Encausse and Schram have produced an interesting little book; however, their analysis differs little from those of John Kautsky, Richard Lowenthal, Robert C. Tucker, Adam Ulam, and others.

ROGER E. KANET
University of Kansas

ANCIENT

ROBERT M. GRANT. *Augustus to Constantine: The Thrust of the Christian Movement into the Roman World.* New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. xiv, 334. $10.00.

FABRIZIO CANFORA. *Simmaco e Ambrogio: O di un'antica controversia sulla tolleranza e sull'intolleranza.* Bari: Adriatica Editrice. 1970. Pp. 257. L. 2,500.

Professor Grant's work offers a survey of the origin, growth, and conflicts of Christianity in the Roman world from the death of Augustus to the official acceptance of the new faith in the age of Constantine. The focus of Canfora's monograph is the controversy between Q. Aurelius Symmachus, chief spokesman of Roman paganism, and Bishop Ambrose of Milan over the request of the pagan senators that the Altar of Victory, removed from its place in the Senate House by Gratian, be restored by Valentinian II.

Grant's study "attempts to co-ordinate Christian and Roman history and seeks to explain the course of Christian events in relation to what was going on in the empire . . . to set the Christian movement into its Graeco-Roman context and try to assess how much the direction of its development owed to its environment." The scarcity of statistical data for the rise of Christianity and the necessity of depending largely on written evidence "both literary and highly selective" are recognized

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by the author. The effect of this situation, however, and the method principally employed —the topical analysis of the works of Christian writers of the period—combine to produce a study of more interest and value to students of theology and Church history than to students of the Roman world as a whole. The author's uneasy feeling that he may have let his interest in the Roman world carry his account too far from the Christian story may seem to some readers unwarranted; the reverse seems nearer the mark. The "thrust of the Christian movement into the Roman world" is sometimes difficult to discover in the detailed analysis of theological matters. Perhaps Grant's criticism of Lactantius may with some justification be cited as applicable to his own work, that it "presents a juxtaposition rather than a synthesis of Christian and classical themes."

Canfora's work, with an annotated translation of the principal documents, makes the debate over the Altar of Victory the basis for a general discussion of tolerance and intolerance. Though there were many similarities between the "paganizing Christianity" and the "Christianizing paganism" of the fourth century, there remained a basic difference: the concern of Christianity for the welfare of people of all classes, which stands in contrast to the arrogant attitude of superiority maintained by the pagan aristocracy, even as its leaders pleaded for the continued existence of their favored and once dominant position.

Symmachus was not, as Boissier and other scholars have maintained, the advocate of a pagan intolerance, nor was Ambrose the champion of a Christian tolerance. The opposite opinion, which is the usual interpretation, is the true one. Symmachus was pleading for tolerance, but only for the values of his own aristocratic class; Ambrose was intolerant of all religious views but the Christian, yet this intolerance looked to a more enlightened and humane society than that of the pagan world. The intolerance of Ambrose was thus a liberating force, different from the repressive intolerance to which the pagan world had subjected the Christian faith until the pagans themselves became the weaker party. Yet in the struggle between the old and the new, the victorious new faith that emerged was not all that it gave promise of becoming. The liberating forces became the policies of domination under the new order; the persecuted Christian minority became the persecuting majority. The victory of the Christian bishop and his increasing influence over the imperial office show clearly, as Gibbon observed, that "the cause of humanity and that of persecution have been asserted by the same Ambrose with equal energy and with equal success."

J. A. MCGEACHY, JR.
Davidson College

CARL ROEBUCK, editor. *The Muses at Work: Arts, Crafts, and Professions in Ancient Greece and Rome.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 294. $12.50.

This small book, containing ten essays by ten authors, began as a series of public lectures given by members of the Archaeological Society of Chicago and developed into a bundle of discrete chapters on diverse aspects of ancient skills. Although the underlying motive for publication was to expose a popular audience to the value of classical archeology in explaining Greek and Roman technology, the emphasis falls heavily on the Greek side and many of the Muses are missing. If Clio appears indistinctly, Urania and the Muse of poetry are absent, and so too are discussions of Greek and Roman medicine, education, soldiering, public administration and the courts, coinage and banking, and mining and engineering either as crafts or as professions. Although a reader might not expect encyclopedic treatment in a collection of essays, the title of this volume is misleading because the range of topics is so limited. Furthermore, the chapters hover uncertainly between expertise and simple popularization, so that the appropriate public for this book remains ill-defined. Consistent with this lack of focus and distorted treatment, the volume itself is poorly produced; the design has a pedestrian quality, the ink is dusty, and despite an apt selection most of the illustrations are pale and lack sharpness. In all, this is a clear example of a nonbook, one that should never have been published or that should have awaited further development, since some of the essays have merit.

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Robert Scranton writes on "Greek Building," concentrating on problems of the commissioning and funding of building projects, the functions of architects and masons, and the techniques of construction and quarrying in Greek architecture of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; J. E. Packer treats "Roman Imperial Building 31 B.C.–A.D. 138," providing a capsule history of the evolution of concrete, vaulted architecture, and then focusing on the buildings of Ostia and the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli. D. K. Hill in "Bronze Working: Sculpture and Other Objects" offers a useful guide to the technology of bronze-working and the use of bronze as a material in large and small Greek and Roman statues, vessels, furniture, and arms and armor. B. S. Ridgeway in her essay on "Stone Carving: Sculpture" restricts her discussion to Greek sculpture in the round from the archaic to the Hellenistic periods with reference to techniques and tools from quarry to carver; a similar approach, restricted to Attic sixth- and fifth-century pots, is adopted by J. V. Noble in his technical essay on "Pottery Manufacture." Grundy Steiner discusses "Farming," relying heavily on Roman agricultural writings and directing our attention to the farmers, their farms, products, and tools. Lionel Casson writes on Greek and Roman "Sailing" and analyzes the types of ships, the art of shipbuilding, and the development of harbors. Carl Roebuck, the editor of this volume, in his essay on "Trading" talks almost exclusively about Greek trade before the Hellenistic period; A. K. Khalil in "Musicians and Music" is principally interested in the musical instruments represented in Greek vase-painting; and E. R. Gebhard discusses "Actors and Acting" in terms of the masks, costumes, and acting techniques used in Greek tragedy. There are brief notes to each essay, and a short index follows at the end.

RICHARD BRILLIANT
Columbia University

L. SPRAGUE DE CAMP. *The Ancient Engineers.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1970. Pp. 408. $2.95.

HENRY HODGES. *Technology in the Ancient World.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xvi, 287, x. $10.00.

The Ancient Engineers by L. Sprague de Camp, a chapter-by-chapter survey of the ancient engineers of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, the Hellenistic Age, early Rome, later Rome, the Orient, and Europe, suffers from an identity crisis. The author's basic fault is his failure to establish an audience for the book.

Serious readers are sure to find his style very disturbing; for example, "a heavy rain had made the battlefield into a bog, into which the full-armored French knights sank to their hubcaps and were slaughtered" (341). Both serious and popular readers will be continually distracted by the author's use of footnotes. Over one third of these 286 footnotes serve primarily to gratify his taste for popular philology or variant readings of personal names: "Or Nebuchadnezzar; Greek, Naboukodonosoros; Akkadian, Nabu-kudurriuşur. 'Nebuchadrezzar,' the spelling used by Jeremiah and Ezekiel is nearer the original than the 'Nebuchadnezzar' used elsewhere in the Bible." Moreover, several questionable interpretations and the author's simplistic view of history—"Civilization, as we know it today, owes its existence to the engineer"—will alienate even the most careless historian.

Despite these flaws, *The Ancient Engineers* is not without some value. General readers and beginning history students will find it packed with the accomplishments of the ancient engineers. Furthermore, numerous illustrations and an excellent bibliography complete this book, which can be useful if read with caution and toleration.

Contrasted to Mr. de Camp's schizophrenic approach toward his reading audience, *Technology in the Ancient World* by Henry Hodges is just what its author claims, a popular account of ancient technology from man's earliest preliterate beginnings to the early fifth century A.D. Primary emphasis is given to the development of technology in the geographic areas of the ancient Near East and the classical Mediterranean world, although a summary chapter includes consideration of European, Indus Valley, Chinese, and New World technologies.

Although no topic is treated at length, this abbreviated account contains reference to most of the important advances in ancient agrarian,

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architectural, military, and naval technology. The author's task of interpreting the remains of ancient technology is always difficult, yet Mr. Hodges seldom goes beyond the bounds of reasonable speculation in his explanations. The few inaccuracies found in the narrative are minor and pardonable in a general book such as this. Finally, excellent quality photographs and illustrations are liberally employed to ease the burden of protracted explanation in this fine little book.

RICHARD NELSON
Augsburg College

DANIEL BABUT. *Plutarque et le stoïcisme.* (Publications de l'Université de Lyon.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1969. Pp. 598. 60 fr.

It may very well be that *Plutarque et le stoïcisme* will be of much more interest to the student of ancient religion and philosophy than to the historian, but it is not a book that can be readily ignored since it constitutes an exhaustive study of one aspect of an author who is a major source for our knowledge of the Hellenistic world. Though studies exist about the relation of Platonism and Epicureanism to Plutarch, no study like Babut's discusses exhaustively the place of Stoicism and the Stoics in the works of Plutarch. The book under review is in fact more than just a study of Plutarch and his philological use of Stoicism; rather, it becomes a valuable critique of Stoicism as seen and used by Plutarch, who obviously knew this important school intimately, both as a philosophical tradition and as a living contemporary philosophy, in original texts and in representative persons of that school. Professor Babut examines every single instance of Stoic word and thought that can be found in the works of Plutarch and distinguishes three different periods and use: first, a youthful period in which his own philosophy was being formed, during which he borrowed from Stoicism, but in no significant degree and with a hostile position initially to that philosophy; second, a period of great confrontation with Stoic thought as evidenced by numerous polemical writings; and third, a less aggressive period in which his own thought is not much modified but in which he acknowledges certain partial agreements with Stoicism. Babut shows vividly that Plutarch did not hesitate to appropriate Stoic ideas that fitted in with his own vision of things. Stoic *Einflüss* can be seen in common links, in adaptations to Plutarchian use, and in incorrect usage.

Basic to Babut's approach throughout the study is the attempt to resolve the apparent contradiction in Plutarch as a thinker. Absolutely clear is the fact that Plutarch knew his Stoicism and criticized it severely as a philosophy, though this did not necessarily color his consideration of the men who practiced Stoicism and in whom he saw spiritual affinities, even recognizing in them what might be called a community of beliefs and ideas. Professor Babut reviews every aspect of Stoicism itself, its basic principles, ethics, religion (including allegorical interpretation and demonology), and the Stoic concept of God and the world. The two major divisions of the book, "Plutarch and the Stoa" and "Plutarch and the Stoic Vision of the World," provide the astute reader with a comprehensive posing of the apparent anti-Stoicism of Plutarch and a fully documented answer that claims the solution in his opposition to eclecticism, not in eclecticism itself. Babut insists that Stoic thought played for Plutarch *le rôle d'un révélateur.*

The reader can learn a great deal about Plutarch and about Stoicism from this substantial book, but he may wonder whether the author's main thesis is not a bit overworked and even self-evident. Still, Professor Babut has given us a formidable study that will undoubtedly become a source of invaluable information for both students of Plutarch and students of Stoicism.

JOHN E. REXINE
Colgate University

PETER GREEN. *Xerxes at Salamis.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xv, 326. $10.00.

Peter Green has written a brilliant piece of popular scholarship, popular because it is engagingly and excitingly written, has few footnotes and no Greek, scholarly because it is based on the results of a useful and insightful reading of the sources, a comprehensive grasp of modern scholarship, and a first-hand knowledge of the land and battlefields he describes. He has chosen a perfect time to write

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such an account of the Persian invasion of Greece, for he has profited from the important works of Burn and Hegnett and the essential topographical essays of Pritchett, all of which have appeared in the last decade. Green is wise in following Burn more closely than Hignett, whose misguided idolatry of Herodotus leads him to ignore or discredit such important sources as Plutarch and Diodorus-Ephorus.

While his debts are clear and generously acknowledged, Green exercises independent judgment and offers many new insights. The book's greatest strength is in the realm of military and naval history. The exposition of strategy and tactics on both sides is masterful. I have read no account of Salamis so clear and so persuasive. The explanation of Thermopylae and Artemisium, which argues that the main battle was meant to be fought on land, does not convince me, but it is clearly and intelligently presented and superior to most. Plataea is impossible to reconstruct from the unsatisfactory evidence, but Green's version has the merit of indicating what the problems are and offers a reasonable, if necessarily incomplete, account. Details aside, the military narrative is scholarly, clear, and often exciting.

On the political side I find more to quarrel with. Themistocles is Green's hero, and he is right to see many Churchillian parallels. I think, however, that the class basis of Athenian politics is drawn too sharply and so, too, is the political structure itself. There was no two-party system with Themistocles and the radical, sea-going democrats on one side and Cimon, Aristides, Xanthippus, and the conservative, agrarian Tories on the other. The situation was far less organized and more complicated. All three opponents of Themistocles favored the naval policy and the Delian League. No one was more popular with the demos than Cimon. None of the objections are weighty. This book should be read by scholars who will profit from its originality and by anyone interested in the Greeks, Herodotus, military history, or an exciting, well-written story. Certainly no visitor to Greece should be without it.

DONALD KAGAN
Yale University

A. R. W. HARRISON. *The Law of Athens: The Family and Property*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 346. $10.10.

Demosthenes' oratorical ability has been much admired, but the greater part of his work is seldom or ever read. His political speeches are much studied, but those written for the courtroom either for himself or for others rarely draw attention. They are difficult to understand and of small historical significance as they present only one side of a case and their partisan pleading hinders interpretation. The greatest difficulty in understanding, however, arises because we have no contemporary guide to the Athenian law of this period; hence the subject matter is frequently obscure. A. R. W. Harrison set out to remedy this by providing a two-volume work on the law of Athens in the fourth century. This volume is the first and will be followed by a second. Unfortunately Harrison died before completing his work, but he left manuscript and notes in an advanced state of preparation, and D. M. Macdowell has undertaken the responsibility for editing and preparing the second volume for the press.

In this first volume Harrison discusses the law of property and the law of persons with various subdivisions in each category. He has gathered his material from Demosthenes, from the other fourth-century orators and writers, and from notices in later scholiasts and lexicographers. He has then arranged the information according to various categories of the law conventional among jurists and legal scholars. The result is highly successful and as far as is possible provides a working handbook for fourth-century Athenian law. It strikingly illuminates the fundamental importance of the *oikos* (family, household) as the basic institution in the structure of the Athenian *polis*.

Harrison does not try to avoid the great difficulties and problems that arise at almost every point. Generally he presents a descriptive narrative and keeps argumentation in the footnotes, which consequently are long, learned, and often complex. The narrative itself is pragmatic, presenting case law and avoiding theory. The result is an old-fashioned work of scholarship with the strengths and weaknesses of that genre. On the one hand, the

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clarity of the book and its usefulness as a handbook in understanding Demosthenes and other fourth-century orators will make it a standard reference work for some time. On the other hand, law cannot be divorced from its social and cultural context, and certain discussions are inadequate, particularly those on slavery and on alienation of real property.

The production of the book does credit to the Oxford Press and is liberal in its use of Greek type. One wishes, however, that the Greek had been confined to the footnotes. The narrative could be of interest to historians of law in general, but now it must remain inaccessible to anyone who does not know Greek. This work contributes so much that it deserves a wider audience than it will have, but at least it will make the private orations of Demosthenes more easily understandable by ancient historians.

JOHN F. OATES
Duke University

JOSEPH PLESCIA. *The Oath and Perjury in Ancient Greece.* Tallahassee: Florida State University Press. 1970. Pp. vi, 116. $5.00.

Information on the extent, effectiveness, and true meaning of oaths in an older and pagan society cannot be without interest for historians generally. In the case of Greece there is, moreover, abundant and varied evidence available for study. Early epic poems, tragic drama, comedy, oratory, archival material of every sort all preserve oaths, false oaths, and the views of men and gods on the sanctity and meaning of oaths at particular times and in particular places in the Greek world. It is unfortunate that the author of the present book has not only been unable to construct a convincing general thesis, but that he has not even done so much as to transmit the original sources in a responsible way. His translations (as distinguished from the translations of others that he uses) in almost every instance include errors, some of which wholly obscure the meaning of the Greek. A single example will suffice to illustrate a lamentable plurality. On pages 39–40 a sentence is translated, "Let it be law that they judge under oath," and is then used as evidence for general Greek practice. The Greek sentence actually means, "whatever judgment these men reach after having sworn, this is to be decisive (or valid)." Institutions such as law courts, *nomothetai,* and *proxenoi* are mislabeled or erroneously defined. In the mixed list of original and derivative sources (best or latest editions are in many instances not cited) titled "Bibliography," one can find some directions for a proper study of the subject, but I do not, on the whole, understand how a university press could publish this book.

ALAN L. BOEGEHOLD
Brown University

JOHN H. D'ARMS. *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and Their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400.* (Loeb Classical Monographs.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 252. $8.00.

The Bay of Naples is perhaps best known to students of antiquity as the resort par excellence of Roman high society, a region particularly suited to be a playground for the rulers of the Mediterranean. Numerous references to the area range over classical literature, and abundant archeological remains of private villas, imperial residences, and baths attest its popularity. In developing what was originally a doctoral dissertation the author has used classical evidence and modern literature pertaining to his subject to produce a well-illustrated volume that enhances our knowledge of a fascinating part of ancient Italy.

The chronological and topical limits the author places on his study make sense. He notes (p. viii) that Campanian *villeggiatura* from the late Republic to the declining Empire is a phenomenon best studied in its entirety, despite political and economic changes occasionally affecting the habits of Roman aristocrats at leisure. Since he is interested mainly in the social and cultural aspects of villa life and only marginally in the economic, he focuses on the luxurious coastal establishments, largely ignoring productive estates in the hinterland of Campania and those near Pompeii, which have been studied elsewhere. His development of such topics as the *luxuria* and *amoenitas* of Baiae and its environs characterize his approach to his subject.

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This book is useful because it organizes all the evidence pertaining to *villae maritimae* of the region and to their owners. Its value in this regard is enhanced by two lengthy appendixes to the text—catalogues of Roman owners of pleasure villas and private houses during the period 75 B.C.–A.D. 400. The book's importance goes beyond that of a mere compendium of information, however, since the author interprets facts to produce a new and original insight into the quality of Roman leisure in Campania, which was culturally far richer than is commonly supposed. He makes clear that here upper-class Romans were most intimately and continuously exposed to a sophisticated, indigenously Greek style of living, with all that this meant for the appreciation and cultivation of the arts and literature.

WILLIAM G. SINNIGEN
Hunter College

SIR RONALD SYME. *Ten Studies in Tacitus.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. 152. $6.50.

Syme on Tacitus is somewhat like reading Tacitus on Tacitus. Both historians are brilliant "provincials" who take a dim view of politicians and espouse a lapidary style. A typical Syme *sententia: "Novi homines* tended to be traditionalist in sentiment; and the profiteers of the Revolution were eager to become respectable through the painless process of social mimesis." In many respects Syme's *Roman Revolution* is the history of the Augustan era that Tacitus promised but did not live to write. The present book is a collection of ten articles or lectures, some predating Syme's monumental *Tacitus* (1958). Chapter 1 "The Senator as Historian," chapter 2, "How Tacitus Came to History," and chapter 10, "The Political Opinions of Tacitus" are popular pieces filled with insights and well-turned phrases: Tacitus "wrote for a subtle and malicious audience," but perhaps the man was not as gloomy as the writer. Chapter 4, "Tacitus on Gaul," is a useful discussion of an important region, though one may question that the Gallic aristocracy had totally abandoned Druidic "superstition" to the lower classes. The remaining chapters are largely prosopographic excursions necessary in pinpointing specific references in Tacitus but like detective work in general, tedious to follow, laced with inferences, and often trivial in result. In chapter 9 Syme explores the career of L. Fabius Justus, to whom Tacitus' treatise on oratory was dedicated; the effort is justified in order to date the *Dialogus,* but Tacitus' famous friend, the younger Pliny, is more interesting. In chapter 8 Syme fails to flesh in the dimly perceptible figure of the historian Servilius Nonianus; too many assumptions have to be accepted as proven. In chapter 4 Syme is more successful in tracking down Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, whom Augustus considered *capax imperii;* this article shows prosopography at its best. So immersed in his studies of the Roman aristocracy is Syme that he advocates this axiom: "The testimony of a Roman consular ought not to be ignored or discarded." Yet, as Sir Ronald well knows, Cicero in his many versions of the Catilinarian affair contradicted himself, and Caesar and Pollio disagreed on the details of battles in which both participated. At times Syme identifies too much with his topic, be it Tacitus or the Roman nobility, but he has achieved great rapport with the past and thinks like a Roman. Even in a collection of minor essays, Syme displays again his right to a place in the triumvirate of modern masters of Roman history beside Gibbon and Mommsen.

THOMAS W. AFRICA
State University of New York, Binghamton

J. P. WILD. *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces.* (Cambridge Classical Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xxii, 189, 12 plates. $10.50.

From Britain and the Rhenish lands of the Roman period a hundred or so fragments of cloth, spindles, distaffs, wool-combs, and similar tools survive; these the author explains through a catalogue and a generous selection of line drawings, plates, and a bibliography. These various sections make up the bulk of the book. An eighty-five page essay at the outset covers in a consecutive way the types of material—mostly wool but also silk, linen, cotton, and felt, for example—and the preparation, spinning, weaving, and dyeing of cloth. Within its chosen boundaries the whole work is of an exemplary

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thoroughness and clarity. No student of technology could ask for more. The historian, on the other hand, who looks for people here finds none, and hardly even indirect hints that might lead to wider connections. A companion volume on textiles from other parts of the Empire is needed, and it is to be hoped that Wild will undertake one. When that is done, it will be possible to discuss on a firm basis what may have been the single most valuable item in Roman commerce—textiles in general—and to evaluate comparatively the especially rich corpus of eastern material. In discussing fancy weaves and fabrics Wild is indeed obliged to make frequent reference to Syrian or Egyptian cloth; but his forays into these lands show that he has not familiarized himself with them yet. It does emerge that thread from the eastern and from the northwestern provinces was spun in opposite directions, enabling Wild to show that the textiles of the latter area were for the most part locally produced. Twills and checks, too, were generally at home in the northwest but late arrivals to the east; in contrast, tapestry weaving and fulling appear to have been introduced into the northwest by the Roman conquest. These scattered conclusions suggest the interesting superstructure of social and economic history for which the author has now laid an essential foundation stone.

RAMSAY MACMULLEN
Yale University

SERGEI I. RUDENKO. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen.* Translated and with a preface by M. W. THOMPSON. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xxxvi, 340, 180 plates. $30.00.

This beautifully illustrated volume is not a picture book but a serious archeological study based upon a half-century of scholarly effort by a distinguished Russian anthropologist and archeologist. Rudenko's study is divided into eleven chapters dealing with topography, barrow construction, equestrian artifacts, economy, clothing, physical types among the population, workers' techniques, social structure, art, religion, and chronology. The author's additions to the translation make this new edition the most recent treatment of Pazyryk and supplant the Russian version.

The Iron-Age horsemen of Pazyryk are known to us from eight barrow graves located in the high Altai mountains bordering on Tuva ASSR. These graves are some 2,500 years old and provide a selection of evidence about a pastoral people who had trade relations with Persia and China, smoked hemp, tatooed much of their bodies, wore false beards, and buried a small herd of horses with their dead. Because the graves were flooded and remained frozen from shortly after their construction, much of the material in the barrows that normally would have perished, such as cloth, leather, and flesh, fortunately has been preserved. The graves, however, were looted in antiquity, and thus few valuables were found by the archeologists.

The Pazyryk people were not literate, and nothing about them survives in the ancient Greek or Chinese sources. Nevertheless, Professor Rudenko's skillful sifting of ancient literary evidence and his judicious use of modern ethnographic data allow him to construct a kind of model social structure that he suggests may have been common to the pastoral peoples of ancient central Asia, including the horsemen of Pazyryk. It is unnecessary to do more than indicate that the dicta of Marx and especially Engels litter Rudenko's effort, since almost every society demands some kind of imprimatur; but one hopes in addition that historians will come away knowing that skillful model building is not history, and that archeological data unsupported by specific written evidence is not sufficient for writing history.

BERNARD S. BACHRACH
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LOUIS LAWRENCE ORLIN. *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia.* (Studies in Ancient History, Number 1.) The Hague: Mouton. 1970. Pp. 272. 64 gls.

This study is essentially the author's doctoral dissertation, submitted in 1960. While the long delay seems to have been beyond the control of the author, it means that much has been done since this book was actually written. Orlin has made some attempt to include studies published before 1965, but nothing after that date.

As a result there are some rather disconcerting aspects about the book. Much of the text is devoted to a refutation of the late Julius

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Lewy's theory of an Assyrian empire in Anatolia, known to Lewy as Halys Assyria. This idea represents what was always a personal aberration of Lewy's, although it is also found in the publications of his wife, the late Hildegard Lewy. To devote so much attention to Halys Assyria is to risk the charge of flogging a now quite dead and never very lively horse.

Yet, in spite of the fact that Orlin rejects Lewy's basic interpretation of the Old Assyrian colonies in Anatolia, his translations of the Old Assyrian tablets and the meanings he ascribes to technical terms used in these texts are taken almost entirely from studies by Lewy. Current work in Akkadian lexicography is virtually ignored. *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (1956–) is given only three minor references; Wolfram von Soden's *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (1959–) is simply not mentioned. Technical problems cannot be discussed here, but suffice it to say that I have serious reservations about Orlin's translations. The Old Assyrian letters from Anatolia are very difficult to interpret. It is therefore unfortunate that the author, again following the practice of Julius Lewy, often chooses to deal with individual letters by citing the transliterated text in a footnote without providing any translation. The text is given "for the convenience of the reader"; yet the number of readers who will be convenienced must be very limited.

Orlin's study represents a serious attempt to deal with the history of Anatolia in the early second millennium B.C. and with the status of the Assyrian colonists vis-à-vis the native Anatolian princes. Orlin is not always clear concerning questions of chronology, however. Sargon of Akkad is placed in the twenty-fourth century on page 45, but page 228 gives his exact dates as 2467–2413 B.C., and these dates in themselves are very strange, as the author seems to follow the so-called Middle Chronology. Orlin's discussion of Assyrian colonization takes advantage of modern comparative studies, yet it might have been more apposite to draw comparisons with ancient Greek and Roman colonization. The difference between economic and political colonization is, after all, the distinction between Greek *emporion* and *apoikia*.

JAMES D. MUHLY
University of Pennsylvania

MEDIEVAL

M. BASIL PENNINGTON, OCSO, editor. *The Cistercian Spirit: A Symposium in Memory of Thomas Merton.* (Cistercian Studies Series: Number 3.) Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Publications. 1970. Pp. xv, 284. $7.95.

In 1969 monks and nuns from all over the world gathered to participate in a symposium devoted to an attempt to discern the spirit and aims of the founders of the Order of Citeaux. Impelled by desires for a renewal consistent with the original definition of the Cistercian life, the participants undertook to explore the historical context within which the movement emerged and to distinguish between the external, transitory aspects of that life and the internal, abiding elements. Most of the papers delivered at that symposium have been collected to form this volume.

After an introductory paper by the editor, designed to delineate the task of the symposium, the monastic renewal of the eleventh century is surveyed by Louis J. Lekai. Two papers are offered by Jean Leclerq: in the first he analyzes the intentions of the founders of the Cistercian order by examining documents relating to the beginnings, the writings of St. Bernard, and comments of those who testify to contemporary thought concerning the origins; in the second he elaborates a sociological approach to the history of a religious order without specific application to Cistercian origins. The place that a rule should have in the life of a monastic community is treated generically by Armand Veilleux, while specific elements in the evolution of the Cistercian reform are traced by Augustine Roberts. The vision of Cistercian life as witnessed by William of St. Thierry, the early English Cistercians, and Aelred of Rievaulx is the subject of three papers. Chrysogonus Waddell's study of the reforms of the Cistercian antiphonary reveals how some of the ideals of the founders of Citeaux gained concrete expression.

Despite the fact that each of the ten papers is self-contained, taken together they complement one another, and since they all concentrate on the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries. there is a unity of time of study as well as of theme. There is a fruitful juxtaposition of methodologies insofar as the subject of inquiry is treated by representatives of the approaches traditionally associated with

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the disciplines of history, biography, sociology, theology, and indeed, musicology. What was once thought to be a simple proposition, easily formulated, emerges as a complex problem capable of assuming various shapes and proportions as different types of questions are asked and new forms of evidence are adduced.

In these analyses of the medieval origins of the Cistercian life a number of specific questions have been raised: why, how, and to what end did the founding of Citeaux occur; what was the uniquely Cistercian quality of monastic life; how can we account for the rapid evolution of the organized body; what was the perception of that life among medieval Cistercian luminaries such as St. Bernard and Aelred of Rievaulx. Common to all these questions was yet another, that of the role of the Rule of St. Benedict in the Cistercian observance: was the rule a juridical norm not to be contravened, or was it an embodiment of a spiritual calling, to be exceeded or modified in response to historical circumstances? Twentieth-century Cistercians may not be able at this stage of investigation to arrive at conclusive answers, but they are putting direct and important questions to the sources.

The publication of this book is a witness to the vitality and volume of interest in the study of medieval Cistercian monasticism. In the last twenty-five years much has been studied and published, but there remains yet more to be done, especially the publication of critical editions of documents and texts. The Cistercian Studies Series, of which this volume is a part, has addressed itself to this task, and it is a welcome addition to the scholarly Cistercian journals currently available.

COBURN V. GRAVES
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A. IA. GUREVICH. *Problemy genezisa feodalizma v zapadnoi Evrope* [Problems of the Genesis of Feudalism in Western Europe]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Vysshaia Shkola." 1970. Pp. 222.

Gurevich's book, issued by the ministry of higher and secondary special education of the USSR, is subtitled "An Instructional Aid for History Majors." By any standard of comparison it stands out in its genre as an outstanding essay in historical methodology. Although he begins with the usual Soviet definition of feudalism as primarily an economic-social order, Gurevich is not content with definitions either as explanations or as substitutes for the study of evidence. A summary of the book's contents only inadequately indicates the sophistication of Gurevich's analysis. The introductory chapter is entitled "Feudalism: 'Model' and Historical Reality." Following it are chapters on property, the individual and society, and on "aspects of the process of feudalization" in the early Middle Ages. Gurevich considers the development of a hierarchy of social bonds called feudalism to have arisen out of the functional obligations faced by barbarian conquerors in ruling and defending the territory of the Roman Empire and its periphery. Strongly influenced by the work of modern cultural anthropologists, Gurevich writes especially well about the residual power of barbarian ritual and custom in defining relations between person and group in feudal society from Scandinavia to northern Italy. He insists that both regional social-political models and contemporary economic definitions of property distort the interpretation of evidence and hence our understanding of the past. Economic considerations alone, he adds, suffice to define societies until the rise of industrial capitalism only in a very general way and over long periods of development. Instead, he suggests that diversity of forms of economic and social organization and variation in degrees of personal dependency were everywhere the common characteristics of feudalism. Serfdom, meaning the binding of peasants permanently to a landholding, he claims was common only to a later age of expanding markets and growing autocracy, and the " 'second edition of serfdom' in Eastern Europe in the XV–XVIII centuries, properly speaking, was the first and only [edition] in European history" (p. 52). Gurevich's knowledge of sources and historical literature is also impressive. Yet he admits that he raises more questions than he answers, an admirable trait in any study guide. His book merits a translation.

Subsequent to writing these words I discovered that Soviet historians also have appreciated the originality of the book. By order of the publishing ministry, the divisions of Russian and Western European feudalism of the department of history of Moscow University met to discuss

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it on May 22, 1970 (see *Voprosii istorii,* no. 9 [1970]: 154–67). The conferees called the book un-Marxist in that it suggested the primacy of personal and social over economic bonds in uniting early feudal society; its explanation of the genesis of feudalism admitted to alternative variants of development in violation of the inevitability of the laws of historical change [*zakonomernost'*]; and it polemicized against Soviet historiography. Point three, as several critics noted, had wider ramifications. Thus, Iu. M. Saprukin said that Gurevich's "failure" arose from a theoretical position "propagandized" recently by a few Soviet historians and philosophers who question existing Soviet canons of historical materialism and in part are influenced by Western structural anthropology. He also deplored that Gurevich turned a study guide into an appeal to "the younger generation" of historians from whom in Gurevich's words "one ought expect the posing of new questions, the search for novel means for solving problems inherited from older generations of investigators." The conferees concluded that the book would "disorient students and teachers on theoretical questions." On July 13, 1970, the ministry withdrew its imprimatur from the book.

DAVID B. MILLER
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JÜRGEN MIETHKE. *Ockhams Weg zur Sozialphilosophie.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1969. Pp. xxii, 585. DM 86.

This comprehensive study of Occam's writings is far more than an analysis of his social theory together with necessary prolegomena. In point of fact the study is an explication of nearly all the major teachings of Occam.

The author argues that all of Occam's writings are cut out of one cloth. Miethke seeks to demonstrate that the entire corpus is internally consistent and that no hypothesis regarding Occam's intellectual cynicism or double-talk is necessary to interpret his writings.

The leitmotiv of Occam's writings is said to be the omnipotence of God. Occam's assertions about religion and morality are viewed as an attempt to explicate this theme and to analyze carefully the language used to talk about the omnipotent God and his relation to the world. In a study so boldly conceived the reader is presented with solutions to problems that have absorbed the attention of other scholars for a lifetime. No definitive judgment on the success of Miethke's effort can be made until the present generation of Occam experts have prepared detailed critiques.

For the present, several difficulties could be mentioned. The author presents Occam as a scholastic eager to analyze the language of religion and morality in order to clarify and simplify that language. The terminology most important for an understanding of God's omnipotence is, according to Occam, the distinction between the absolute power of God (*potentia Dei absoluta*) and the ordained power of God (*potentia Dei ordinata*). The recurring theme of the study is that, even though God has announced certain administrative rules that will govern his relation with mankind, there is no necessity that forces God so to operate. God is totally free from any compulsion in his actions toward the world. The only limit on God's absolute powers is that he may do nothing that involves self-contradiction. The reader is presented with no rationale justifying Occam's preference for this vision of God over any other, except for a comment on the use of this distinction by previous theologians.

Further, in spite of Miethke's objections to the contrary, the reader becomes puzzled regarding the stability of the established order when the absolute power of God constantly puts it in question. In fact, the revealed order in which Christendom lives becomes a hazy shadow set against the stark background of God's absolute power. Take, for example, the issue of man's meritorious acts on the way to salvation. The author holds that for Occam all merits are, of necessity, partial, that full merit is ruled out by definition. This is true because, although in the ordained order God has set certain terms according to which he will accept and reward meritorious action, this ordaining and setting of the terms is totally gratuitous on God's part. Hence, any action viewed from the perspective of the ordained order must be viewed simultaneously from the perspective of God's absolute power. It would seem that there is, therefore, little necessity for theologians to spell out the precise terms under which God has ordained his operations in this world (that is, the concept of merit), since the ordained order is so

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often swept aside for the purpose of judging the relation between man and God in terms of God's absolute power.

To take another example, the author suggests that for Occam, the creation, preservation, and salvation of humanity all amount ultimately to about the same thing. The general, preserving assistance that God gives to the world is said by Occam to be equivalent to the "first grace" posited by previous theologians as the prime mover in man's pilgrimage toward salvation. At this point, the monistic theological theme becomes so predominant that it would seem there is, at most, a limited need for any Christological understanding in Occam's theology.

Finally, the author's interpretation of Occam's ecclesiology after his break with Rome deserves comment. Miethke contends that Occam continued to be a loyal Franciscan and son of the Church while carrying on a debate with the papacy regarding the issues raised by the spirtual Franciscans. Here also the author must strain to hold to this thesis. Since Occam grants that the Church and its traditions, including revelation, deliver the content of theology to each generation, it is necessary that he explain his view of the pope's role within the Church. Occam develops an ecclesiology that sees the universal Church as the bearer of true teaching and that isolates the pope as an individual. The author does not do justice to the papalist position, which refuses to accept the definition of the pope as an individual but rather insists that he is a representative of the Chruch and is, in addition, guided by the Holy Spirit.

The study is copiously documented and is, therefore, an excellent introduction to the secondary literature interpreting Occam. Even if the author's attempt to argue the unity of Occam's writings is not accepted by his colleagues, the volume will remain useful.

PAUL L. NYHUS
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HELENA M. CHEW and MARTIN WEINBAUM, editors. *The London Eyre of 1244*. (London Record Society Publications, Volume 6.) [London:] the Society. 1970. Pp. xxxii, 175. £3.75.

HELEN M. CAM, editor. *The Eyre of London, 14 Edward II, A.D. 1321*. Volumes 1 and 2. (The Publications of the Selden Society, Volumes 85 and 86. Year Books of Edward II, Volume 26, Parts 1 and 2.) London: Bernard Quaritch. 1968; 1969. Pp. cc, 107, 107; xi, 108–358, 108–358, 360–406. £6 each.

The records of the cases heard in 1244 at the London eyre, edited by Helena M. Chew, with courage in adversity, and Martin Weinbaum, and the law reports from the 1321 eyre, edited by the late Helen M. Cam, exhibit the professional techniques now expected in publishing medieval texts. Cam's two volumes of verbatim reports of oral pleadings in Law French, with the Latin records from the plea rolls, are monumental. They form a fitting memorial to her life of learning, teaching, and writing, a life that ended in 1968 when she "lost consciousness while working on this book." When this occurred, "the text, translation, and Introduction were all in proof," and to them S. F. C. Milsom has added a gracious memoir and complete scholarly apparatus. This work is luxury scholarship in both form and substance, perhaps overedited, and Cam's introduction is all-inclusive. Thirteen chapters preserve in rich detail her erudition and contain much about London and its municipal governance, the 1321 eyre and its personnel and legal aspects, extensive notes on the cases themselves, and observations on religious foundations, aliens, and topography.

Chew and Weinbaum, in contrast, use a simpler form of editing, and they present a neat, compact edition of the records of cases with minimal, yet sufficient, textual mechanics. No "verbatim report of an oral debate" survives from 1244 eyre, but Cam erred in saying "law reports were still at the embryonic stage in 1276," the last eyre before that of 1321. For the 1244 eyre, Weinbaum has added up the monetary receipts that Henry III reaped, and C. A. F. Meekings, that pundit at the Public Record Office, has audited both the accounts and the comments thereon. Weinbaum's introduction sticks to the essentials, and he leaves for the reader the fun of discovery among these records, which contain fascinating facts for many kinds of history.

For political historians there is evidence of faction and party among London's politicians in the context of municipal government. For legal historians there is proof of changes in procedure, the use of juries and compurgators, and the citation of precedents and statutes. Sev-

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eral times in 1321 bar and bench cited the Ordinances of 1311 as statutory authority, and they had begun to draw a nascent distinction between public law and private and to designate limitations upon the regal power. The justices declared in 1321 that "Magna Carta of England" prevented the king from granting to the London sheriffs the right to amerce men at their will; for to do so was "beyond the royal power and against all justice." In contrast to this exaltation of the law over the sovereign, the king was still at times above the law. Twice Edward II withdrew cases from the London eyre and so interfered with the course of the law. In an action of conspiracy against a London politician, the king wrote to the justices, "we have reserved it for ourselves and do not wish you to meddle with it." Moreover, one pleader, Shardlow, dared argue that "common law is not binding on privileged [*especials*] persons" like Londoners, only "on common people."

Many pages from the rolls of these two eyres contain standard pleas of the Crown, and they read with the morbidity of a modern urban tabloid. Murder, rape, and arson, assault, robbery, theft, and suicide, all are there. A girl convicted of arson was executed by burning; the rape of an eleven-year old is reported in gruesome detail with anatomical precision; wife-beatings and assaults by neighbors are alleged to have produced miscarriages; and countless records from 1244 recount deaths by misadventure. For such a death, the king received the deodand, the gift to God accepted by his deputy, the thing guilty of having caused the accident. For the economic historian, the assessed values of these deodands supply data for a price index perhaps no more unreliable than others he uses. Here are the values in pounds, shillings, and pence of boats from which men fell and drowned, of stone walls that collapsed and killed, of beams that dropped and felled a woman, steps down which men stumbled to their death, the pan that held the scalding water, the tine of hot mash, the axe that cut fatally, the horses that threw their riders, and the bucket that pulled a man into the Thames to drown. Furthermore, at the 1321 eyre six good men set the prices of wine and meat and poultry and a variety of feral birds, from three halfpence for woodcock to three and six for "the best swan." Bird watchers will regret to learn that Londoners also ate bittern, heron, and pheasant, river mallard and curlew, along with plover and partridge.

The modernity of medieval crime—or the antiquity of modern criminal problems—becomes apparent in these books. Political conspiracy was as uncertain an offense among Londoners in 1321 as among Americans in 1971. Arguments over due process and arrest by London officers without a royal warrant aroused Herle, J., to declaim: "this is a marvelous answer for us to hear, that a man should be attached by his body, in his room, without a royal writ or any other process"; and Stanton, J., added that this is "against the common course of the law." For contempt of court, Thomas Rys was "put in ward" after he had charged his opponent "in a coarse, malevolent temper" and had "shown manifest contempt of the lord king and of his court." Cam herself concluded somewhat cynically that "a 'good jury' could be purchased, like a royal writ, by those who could afford the price." However, by 1321 curial decorum had become more refined and judicial procedure more sophisticated than in 1244. Probably some changes had occurred by 1276, at the preceding London eyre, whose reports and records Weinbaum is soon to publish.

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B. P. WOLFFE. *The Crown Lands 1461 to 1536: An Aspect of Yorkist and Early Tudor Government.* (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 10.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1970. Pp. xii, 16–216. $6.50.

This is a solid treatment of a problem in administration and finance: how could the English kings in the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries realize more revenues from their lands, and how could they get their hands on these moneys without bureaucratic encumbrances? The answer was to organize the lands into units called receiverships and to have the receivers bring their profits directly to the Chamber rather than going through the venerable, creaky apparatus of the Exchequer. This was a trick they learned from the practices of late medieval baronial estate management.

Mr. Wolffe's book is in a series entitled "Historical Problems: Studies and Documents,"

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edited by G. R. Elton. The format calls for an introductory essay (of seventy-three pages here) and illustrative documents. The author offers all or part of twenty-three documents, drawn from such sources as ministers' accounts, memoranda rolls, books of the Augmentations Office, and the *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* to name a few. Only seven of the documents have been printed elsewhere; all are translated into modern English. The introductory essay carries references to the documents chosen so the reader can follow the point being developed. Mr. Wolffe has published a number of articles on this topic, an important one in administrative as well as political history, and a lot of work and thought has gone into two-hundred pages. It is a very neat case study.

I have two criticisms. The case study approach tends to emphasize the correlation between the large phenomenon we call a revolution in government and the extant documents. This approach is not incorrect, but we must be careful when we construct causal chains. The other point is minor. A transcription or two in the original language and an illustration of a document would be useful, though probably not at extra cost. These objections do not detract from an excellent job. As Richard III said of his squire (document XIV, 18), "we let you wit that we [are] trusting in the truth, sadness, and discretion" of Mr. Wolffe.

JOEL ROSENTHAL
State University of New York, Stony Brook

ÉDOUARD BARATIER, editor. *Enquêtes sur les droits et revenus de Charles Ier d'Anjou en Provence (1252 et 1278).* With a study on "Le domaine comtal et les seigneuries de Provence au XIIIe siècle." (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Series in-4°.) Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1969. Pp. 562.

We are already indebted to M. Baratier for his excellent study of the demography of Provence in the Middle Ages. He has now added to this debt by giving us an impeccable edition of the inquests of 1252 and 1278 on the revenues of Charles of Anjou in Provence. The two books are related, since some of the earliest demographic data comes from the inquests of 1252. But the value of the present book goes far beyond demography and illustrates once more the remarkable administrative ability of the thirteenth-century Capetians. Like his brothers Alphonse of Poitiers and Louis IX, Charles wanted to know exactly what his rights were and what he could make out of them. And in recording the results of their inquiries, Charles's agents left us a detailed description of an important thirteenth-century principality.

As M. Baratier points out in his lucid introduction, the county of Provence became a real principality only in the thirteenth century. Raymond-Berenger V and his son-in-law Charles broke the power of the large towns (Nice, Grasse, Marseilles, Arles, Avignon), defeated the most powerful barons, and gained recognition of their sovereign rights in places where their predecessors had had no power. This late development of the count's authority in most parts of the county explains in turn the peculiar distribution of his revenues. He drew very little from his rights as landlord and a great deal from his rights as sovereign. Gabelles (mainly on salt) furnished about half the revenue; most of the rest came from *alberga* (commutation of the right of *gîte*), *cavalcata* (commutation of the right to military service), and *quista* (aids). Unlike northern lords, however, the count received almost nothing from the Church.

The towns were losing freedom but were fairly prosperous. The peasants were gaining freedom—buying off *corvées,* emigrating to towns, setting up village consulates—and also seem to have been relatively prosperous. The count's agents—*bailes* and *viguiers*—were efficient enough to produce a surplus of revenue over expenditure without unduly burdening the population. In spite of Charles of Anjou's sternness, or perhaps because of it, Provence flourished in the thirteenth century as it was not to do in the fourteenth.

Maps, tables of income, and the index are all of high quality.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER
Princeton University

CHRISTIANE VILLAIN-GANDOSSI, editor. *Comptes du sel* (Libro di ragione e conto di salle) *de Francesco di Marco Datini pour sa compagnie*

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d'Avignon, 1376–1379. (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Series in-8°, Volume 7.) Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1969. Pp. xix, 371.

For this volume M. Villain-Gandossi has dipped into those remarkable Datini Archives at Prato and extracted an account book for one of Marco Datini's Avignonese enterprises, which held a concession for obtaining salt from the salt flats surrounding Aigues-Mortes just west of the mouth of the Rhone. The period covered by these particular accounts extends from October 18, 1376, to February 24, 1378.

Professor Villain-Gandossi has presented the contents of Datini's account book with a minimum of editing except to transpose the cursive roman numerals into arabic figures and to convert the symbols for moneys of account and of circulation into a consistent form. In this connection it is interesting to note that the more important figures representing monetary sums were written in roman numerals by Datini's clerks whereas some of the less important numbers representing quantities of materials were written in arabic. For the study of an emerging system of accounting, this publication is extremely significant indeed. It is also significant for its use of the Tuscan dialect for commercial purposes.

In addition to editing the account book Professor Villain-Gandossi has provided an introduction giving a brief account of Datini's commercial enterprises, especially those operating in southern France, of the importance of the salt trade in general, and of the means by which salt concessions were granted by kings and other rulers in that area of much-divided sovereignty in southeastern France. There is also an extremely brief treatment of the growth and regulation of the salt flats themselves as well as of the master artisans responsible for actually extracting the salt, a description of the chief means of transporting the salt, and a survey of the chief markets, principally Rhone River ports, where the Datini representatives sold their product. The introduction concludes with a comparison of the relative price of the salt at each market, once transportation and various local and regional assessments had been added to the original cost.

The usefulness of this edition of the Datini account book is enhanced by a carefully prepared index of those personal and place names that appear in the book. The place names are given in their account-book form as well as in modern form. A glossary of technical terms will further aid the modern reader in understanding the intricacies of this record, for it must be kept in mind that medieval books of account were not mere statistical summaries but included many references to types of personnel, modes of transportation, lodging conditions, terms for renting stalls, means of lending money, and methods of capitalization. In other words, we have here good primary material for both social and economic history.

K. F. DREW
Rice University

GÉRARD SIVÉRY. *Les comtes de Hainaut et le commerce du vin au XIV^e siècle et au début du XV^e siècle*. (Publications du Centre régional d'Études historiques de l'Université de Lille, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines, Number 6.) [Lille: the Centre.] 1969. Pp. 213. 30 fr. postpaid.

This book is a study of wine purchases for the household of the Counts of Hainaut based primarily on registers in series B of the departmental archives of the Nord. After 1334 and until 1420 these purchases were noted in the *Recette générale* of the county not only as to price and quantity but with considerable precision as to provenance, supplier, purchaser, transportation costs, and the like. Hainaut was not a viticultural area. The counts' household bought wine from as far away as Burgundy and the Mediterranean, sometimes sending its own agents to the former area. Nearer vineyards, however, were favored, particularly those of the Paris Basin. Sometimes purchases were made from merchants; other times the counts' agents went directly to the vintner. From such data the author is able to draw valuable conclusions about medieval trade routes and methods and patterns of commercial activity. But he does not stop there. With the aid of some other primary and secondary sources, he is led on to

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further interesting, if brief, conclusions and conjectures about medieval viticulture, prices, the social evolution as well as economic status of wine merchants, trade legislation (including some early attempts at *appellation controlée*), and the fascinating possibility that medieval "publicity" played a role in the favoring of wine from one region over another. This short study is a good example of the wider perspectives that can be opened up by the assiduous and imaginative working of a limited archival source.

CHARLES K. WARNER
University of Kansas

THOMAS F. GLICK. *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 386. $15.00.

American historians of medieval Spain have reason to be grateful these days for the solid scholarly works beginning to appear in English. The book being reviewed will supplement nicely Robert I. Burns's recent *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (1967).

The book is divided into two parts, and the first of these surveys the social and political institutions that regulated the practice of irrigation on the plain of Valencia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is some comparison also with the occasionally variant practices of irrigation on the other plains of the eastern coast of Spain, especially that of Castellón de la Plana. All in all, we are given a clear and detailed account of the institutions that made irrigation a social system as well as an agricultural practice, of the physical and technical problems that made those institutions necessary, and of the social and legal devices that helped them accommodate to emergencies.

The second part of the book is somewhat less successful, consisting as it does of six related but essentially independent essays. All of them deal, in some measure, with the difficult problem of the definition and origins of irrigation in Spain, but they do not, even cumulatively, constitute a satisfactory discussion of it, although separately they are quite valuable studies.

Professor Glick has cleared a great deal of valuable ground and raised more acutely than ever the larger problems surrounding Spanish irrigation. What, for example, is the significance of the fact that the documentation on which the study rests is itself bunched into the years 1375 to 1460? Since the *Reconquista* in Valencia was a phenomenon of the first half of the thirteenth century, we are left with a relative silence of a century and a quarter. Does the appearance of documentation largely after 1375 denote a crisis of nature or a crisis in the system? Is it purely fortuitous? Could it be related to a major demographic movement of Moslems to the south or of Christians into the *huerta*? Or alternatively, since these are largely municipal records, should it be related to an expansion of municipal control over a previously independent plain?

On another tack, should Catalan adaptation to Moorish irrigation systems be investigated more properly in twelfth-century Zaragoza if we are to treat origins? I would hope the author will proceed to these concerns, or similar ones, and that Harvard Press will cooperate in giving us yet a further study in a volume so well produced as this.

BERNARD F. REILLY
Villanova University

IVAN HLAVÁČEK. *Das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen des böhmischen und römischen Königs Wenzel (IV.) 1376–1419: Ein Beitrag zur spätmittelalterlichen Diplomatik.* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters, Number 23.) Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1970. Pp. 507, 37 plates. DM 138.

As it is very likely that the name of this author appears for the first time in an American learned journal, and as the subject of his book is of limited appeal, a brief introduction seems to be necessary.

Both German and Czech scholars have devoted less attention to the reign of Wenceslas IV (Václav-Wenzel), king of the Romans and of Bohemia (1378–1419), than to his illustrious father and predecessor, Charles IV. The impressive series of Regesta Imperii reached its eighth volume at the end of

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Charles's life. While Wilhelm Altmann moved successfully ahead with publication of excerpts from the time of Wenceslas' successor Sigismund, the scholars who accepted Wenceslas' reign as their assignment either died prematurely or left the work undone. After a general revision of unfulfilled obligations there followed a redistribution of the fields, which were allowed to lie fallow for several decades. Ivan Hlaváček and a young German scholar W. Hanisch were invited to prepare for the Regesta Imperii the two volumes that in the original plan had been reserved for the rather long and disturbed period of Wenceslas IV.

Hlaváček's full-length study of the activities of the royal chancery and of the charters issued in Wenceslas' name did not come unannounced. No less than nine preliminary studies in Czech and in German from his pen have appeared since 1960 in learned periodicals; some of them, when revised or recast, were easily incorporated into this book as its chapters or attached as supplements. Thus the book should not be viewed as the product of a novice's zeal but as a well-balanced, judicious summary of painstaking research extending over more than a decade. To get an idea of the amount of material to be mastered we must think in terms of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries when the royal chancery employed a large number of clerks, organized in hierarchical order and performing specific duties according to their rank and qualification. The author speaks (p. 45) of about five thousand documents consulted for analytical and comparative purposes. The selection was made carefully so as to be truly representative and to do justice to the two roles that Wenceslas IV played, ruling as an heir of the Luxembourg patrimony and as an elected king of the Romans, though his head was never adorned in Rome with the imperial crown.

The list of royal chancellors and their short biographies, included in the second part of Hlaváček's book, show more clearly than the meticulous analysis of Wenceslas' charters that no sharp line separated his rule in Bohemia and other hereditary possessions from his conduct of imperial affairs. High church dignitaries of Czech ancestry, like Archbishop John of Jenštejn and Václav Králík of Buřenice, who was awarded on the king's intervention the dignity of the Latin patriarch of Antioch, held the chancellorship for longer periods than prelates of German origin; the length of service was not determined by ethnic origin but by the king's sympathy. When opposition in Germany was mounting, Wenceslas liked to have the highest court office under the control of one of his most trusted favorites, Patriarch Václav.

Hlaváček's monograph will interest specialists in medieval diplomatic, a field that after a temporary eclipse flourishes again in Central Europe as a healthy antidote to excessive preoccupation with modern and contemporary history. Its publication increases the hope that the gap in the Regesta Imperii (volumes 9 and 10) will eventually be filled. The Czech author and the German publisher are to be commended for producing a book that carries on the tradition of critical scholarship for which the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung had once been an inspiring center. The author apparently had a free hand in organizing his book and in selecting illustrations to support his analysis and conclusions.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK
University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD VAUGHAN. *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1970. Pp. xvii, 456. $16.00.

This is the third of Vaughan's projected four-volume study of the Burgundian "state" under the Valois dukes. Admitting the difficulties inherent in the project, many readers will find this book disappointing. Vaughan does not admire Philip the Good, and he seizes every opportunity to compare him unfavorably with his two predecessors. Yet the criteria upon which these judgments rest are frequently ill-defined or unconvincingly applied. Having described the "Apogee of Burgundy" politically, economically, and culturally, Vaughan concludes with the surprising declaration that Philip "was by no means a successful dynast" (p. 399). He is accused of providing his house "with but a single male

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heir" (although in fact he fathered three legitimate sons and some fifteen bastards [p. 133] who were rather extensively employed in ducal administration). He "did little or nothing to consciously develop, or centralize, the administrative machinery of his territories," whereas his predecessors "made serious attempts at rationalization and reform." Yet Vaughan in earlier pages offers much evidence that contradicts this conclusion. On page 163 we are told that Philip's court linked "his various territories in common dependence on a single central institution" and served as "the actual seat of government." On pages 174–75 Vaughan writes that "in spite of changes and evident experimentation, the central financial administration . . . seems to have been reasonably efficient" and that an "important institution" (the *épargne*) was added to it. On page 176 there is mention of "special reforming commissions" to raise money and "to improve the general efficiency of the administration." Moreover, the transfer of the auditing of the "central accounts" from Dijon to Lille (p. 188) and the "astonishing degree of continuity in [the treasury] personnel" clearly did serve to centralize and "rationalize" fiscal administration. Even if reform and innovation were the sole criteria for success in a "dynast," Philip would seem deserving of some credit. He enabled the States-General of the Netherlands, "a new and significant representative institution," to begin "to exercise a unifying influence over a large part of the Netherlands, including Artois and Picardy" (p. 204); and he abandoned the example of his predecessors by adopting monetary reforms that provided a stable currency throughout his reign (p. 251).

Vaughan also concludes that Philip cannot be regarded as a success "in the field of diplomacy, in his relations with other powers," because he failed to obtain a crown from the emperor and he lost the Somme towns to Louis XI. Yet previous chapters examine in detail Philip's success in annexing the principalities of Brabant, Zeeland, Holland, Hainaut, Namur, and Luxembourg—hardly to be had for the asking—and some point is made of the thesis that the duke "was a party to all important decisions and was personally involved in every event of significance" (p. 164) during this period.

As in the previous volumes on the Valois dukes, the cover title is misleading because Vaughan is mainly interested in the principalities, not in the prince. That seems a pity here since the really fascinating problem the book raises is the true character of the duke. At no point does this complex personality receive the attention he deserves. Vaughan is content to quote the sources; he does not analyze them, even when it seems clear that therein lies the key to Philip's otherwise inexplicable relations with France.

In sum this study raises useful questions, furnishes much well-researched detail on major events of the reign, and corrects some common misconceptions. But the "definitive study" of Philip the Good promised on the dust jacket remains to be written.

EUGENE L. COX
Wellesley College

MARIANNE SCHALLES-FISCHER. *Pfalz und Fiskus Frankfurt: Eine Untersuchung zur Verfassungsgeschichte des fränkisch-deutschen Königtums.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 20.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. 717. DM 86.

Inspired by the work of Professor Walter Schlesinger on the royal *Pfalz* or palace at Merseburg and by his plan for making an inventory of all German palaces and connected fiscs, Dr. Schalles-Fischer undertook this almost monumental study of the history and constitutional importance of the palace and fisc at Frankfurt am Main and in the surrounding territory of the lower valley of the Main between the Taunus Mountains and the Rhine. Her achievement is remarkable and important for its thoroughness and for its presentation of the problems of a west-central royal palace and fisc during the development of the medieval German kingdom and Roman Empire.

Detailed investigations are admirable: of the early history of the area and of Frankfurt, of the itineraries of Frankish and German kings from the time of Charlemagne to that of Emperor Charles IV and the Golden Bull,

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of the construction and use of the palace, of the origins of the fisc (royal rights and possessions in the lower valley of the Main) and of its vicissitudes (losses by donations as well as gains by acquisitions or escheats), and of the relations of all these to Germany as a whole and to Frankish and German expansion to the north and east, to the Rhine Valley in its length, and to political problems whether in Germany or in Italy. Excellent maps showing settlements—Celtic, Roman, Germanic, Frankish—and royal rights and holdings in lands, forests, villages, and churches enable one to interpret all the better the detailed account; and a long appendix gives a complete record of royal itineraries in relation to visits, sojourns, and assemblies in Frankfurt. One regrets, however, the absence of an index. Frau Schalles-Fischer has surely done the definitive work on the historical development of the palace at Frankfurt and its relationship to the royal fisc. The references and bibliography show that she has not neglected any of the important sources or works of modern scholars.

How important is such a painstaking work in the general history of the Frankish-Germanic kingdom and the German and Holy Roman Empire? Is this an example of heavy, detailed German scholarship that has no significance in the broad interpretation of the history of Germany in the Middle Ages? Historians of England and France are likely to hold that royal palaces and fiscs are important subjects of study only where monarchic power and the rise of relatively well-centralized national states resulted from the concentration of wealth and authority in the hands of the king. But for Germany a negative result is equally important. In this book one learns of course that the palace and fisc at Frankfurt were important in the development of the Germanic kingdom until the twelfth or early thirteenth century. One also learns, however, that it was only one center of the royal power, and the German kingdom had several other centers. When the Golden Bull declared Frankfurt the place of election for a German king-emperor Germany was already being split among Ständestaaten, and the royal-imperial title was of little significance for the unification of Germany. There was no one capital, as in France and England, but only a ceremonial center in Frankfurt for elections and futile assemblies of kingdom and empire. In one sense all this means that the old system of Frankish-Carolingian scattered "palaces" and centers of economic resources and power persisted and prevented the development of one supreme palace and capital city and of one central, royal "bureaucracy" for the German Reich. It means also that while German kings wasted the resources of palaces and fiscs in pursuit of Italian and imperial claims, the extent of Germany and German feudalism, made centralization in one capital city far more difficult to achieve than in England and France.

The author has not ventured into a history of the factors that prevented the early medieval fisc and palace of Frankfurt from becoming the basis of a German state in the Middle Ages. She has, however, given us a useful history of one of the most important palatinates of the period from the time of Charlemagne to the late fourteenth century. She also makes one question the theme that Frederick Barbarossa planned a royal-fiscal center in Swabia and its adjacent territories and northern Italy. In addition, there is some support for Werner Goetz's thesis that the *Leihezwang* must not be taken too seriously.

GAINES POST
Princeton University

GEORGES DE LAGARDE. *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du Moyen Âge.* Volume 5, *Le Defensor Pacis.* Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1970. Pp. xix, 389. 530 fr. B.

With this fifth volume completed, it would seem, just before his death in 1967, the late Georges de Lagarde brought to a triumphant close the "nouvelle édition refondue" of the major scholarly work that he had first published in six volumes between the years 1934 and 1946. Starting out from a discussion of Marsilius himself, of his characteristic modes of thought and of the composition and dating of his works, he proceeds via a useful survey

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of modern Marsilian scholarship to an analysis of the lines of argument pursued in the *Defensor Pacis*, attempting in four concluding chapters to locate them in their political, religious, and philosophical context and to assess the nature and extent of their influence in later centuries. The end product, as the author himself points out, is no mere revision of his earlier work, *Marsile de Padoue ou le premier théoricien de l'état laïque* (1934). Instead, it is a different book, one written in "a new vein" and one that reflects his deepening conviction that Marsilius was neither by profession nor taste a "metaphysician." Hence his insistence that our understanding of Marsilian thought will remain inadequate to the degree that we attempt to interpret it in accordance with purely philosophical criteria. Hence, too, his increased stress on the importance of the contribution made by thirteenth-century political developments in Italy and France to the genesis of Marsilian ideas and his confession that he himself had earlier overestimated the role played in the shaping of those ideas by Aristotelianism in general and by Latin Averroism in particular. These modifications in Lagarde's understanding of Marsilius reflect his efforts not only to confront anew the texts themselves but also to take into account the major contributions to Marsilian scholarship made since 1934, when the first critical editions of the *Defensor Pacis* had not long been published and when his own study was itself one of the first to attempt a full-scale assessment of Marsilius' thinking. The present volume, then, is written very much in dialogue with the recent scholarship and notably with Gewirth's magisterial study, from the conclusions of which it frequently dissents but with which it must inevitably be compared—and not always, I would say, to its advantage (as, for instance, in the case of its analysis of the Marsilian philosophy of law). But Lagarde's achievement remains an impressive one—especially in the discussion of matters ecclesiological, where the book complements and updates Gewirth's interpretations—and those embarking on a study of Marsilius, though they must of course measure them against the exacting requirements of the texts themselves, would be well advised to begin by assimilating the insights of both men.

FRANCIS OAKLEY
Williams College

NICOLAE STOICESCU. *Sfatul Domnesc şi Marii Dregători din Ţara Românească şi Moldova (sec. XIV–XVII)* [Princely Council and High Officials in Walachia and Moldavia (14th–17th Centuries)]. (Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga." Biblioteca Istorică, Number 16.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1968. Pp. 315. Lei 21.

Sfatul Domnesc is probably the most important study in Romanian medieval institutional history to appear since World War II. The author has defined the role and delineated the functions of the members of the prince's council in Walachia and Moldavia in unprecedented detail and with unusual lucidity.

The principal purpose of the work is to describe the changing character of the curia, of its functions and personnel, from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. According to Stoicescu, the evolution of the council from a narrowly feudal institution composed of the leading boyars to an enlarged body of functionaries of the prince reflected the rise of absolutism in the Romanian provinces more than the deterioration of the social and economic status of the boyars resulting from Turkish domination. Stoicescu relates both the structure of the curia and the absolutism of the prince directly to the Byzantine tradition, ascribing only marginal significance to post-Byzantine influences such as Russian and Ottoman.

The common Byzantine and neo-Byzantine roots of autocratic forms and monarchic power and the very evolution of absolutism in southeastern Europe are deserving of further study. Stoicescu has laid the foundation for such studies through careful investigation of the men and the institutions that constituted the medieval establishment and mirrored the political dynamics of the most critical period in the history of absolutism in the Romanian provinces and in Eastern Europe in general.

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAŢI
University of Colorado

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AVERIL CAMERON. *Agathias.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 168. $5.50.

Agathias, a poet, anthologist, and practicing lawyer, wrote a continuation of Procopius, relating the wars of Justinian from 552 to 559. He is one of the few secular historians of the early Byzantine period whose work survives in full; and although we might well prefer the accidents of preservation to have spared Eunapius, Priscus, or Menander instead, Agathias is of uncontestable value not only as a source of data but also as a representative of the literary tradition in which he wrote.

It is particularly from the latter standpoint that Mrs. Cameron has studied him, for, as she insists, Agathias prized the literary quality of his work at least as highly as its veracity. He steeped himself in the historical classics, preferring this to research into his actual subject matter; his vocabulary is studded with borrowings from Herodotus and Thucydides; for the sake of a suitably solemn and antique tone contemporary peoples and institutions are rarely called by their proper names; and, most oddly of all for the sixth century A.D., Christianity is treated as though it were a rare and exotic cult. These are conventions of the genre, and much of the interest of Mrs. Cameron's study is that she analyzes them in detail. The Agathias who emerges after the literary conventions are peeled away turns out to differ very little from contemporary ecclesiastical historians in his concepts of historical process: disasters are the punishment for sin in a world governed by an unmistakably Christian God. By disclosing this tension between literary form and inner belief, Mrs. Cameron has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Byzantine mentality in the sixth century.

One thing to regret in a book as brief as this one is that it does not contain Mrs. Cameron's major studies of Agathias' excursuses on Persian and Frankish affairs—the most interesting portions of the *History*. These separately published articles should definitely have been reprinted here.

WALTER GOFFART
University of Toronto

MODERN EUROPE

GERHARD MÜLLER. *Die römische Kurie und die Reformation 1523–1534: Kirche und Politik während des Pontifikates Clemens' VII.* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, Number 38.) [Gütersloh:] Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn. 1969. Pp. 307. DM 45.

In attempting to comprehend the actions of Pope Clement VII, even Charles V's memoirs express the exasperation: "God knows why the Pope acted thus." Divine understanding aside, Gerhard Müller's historical understanding of Clement's politics does omit very revealing evidence as to the pope's rationale. Contarini, "the Venetian More," put an argument before Clement as regards the latter's choice of seeking the particular good of the Papal State instead of the common good of the Christian community. Clement's nonanswer to the question is suggestive. He told Contarini that "the craftiest man is held to be the most capable and wins the most applause, while if one acts otherwise one is simply considered a good-natured but impracticable fellow." Clement's response affirmed Machiavelli's *arte dello Stato,* though he himself negated the necessary resoluteness of his office.

The merit of Müller's work, however, is that he neither hangs upon Clement's dilatory nature and strategy alone nor laments the lack of a kenotic spirit rightfully expected from this "feeder of sheep." The author's perspective disavows the polarization of papal efforts into right and wrong simplifications and asserts history as complexification.

Within the framework of curial machinations and venality, all the subtle nuances of circumstance unfold. Oscillations to and from Rome reflect the conflicting reports of legates, the slowness of communication, and the self-interest of the secular princes.

Throughout this well-documented work the papacy's lack of a decisive and comprehensive program is in continuous evidence. Amid political one-upmanship and family interest, two failures stand out: Clement's support of France against the Habsburgs, when France, with or without papal support, could not arrest the Habsburg hegemony; and Clement's reluctance to call a General Council.

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Though Clement's reform efforts were fragmentary, he was conciliatory in conceding the cup to the laity and the abolition of celibacy for the lower clergy. Müller does not mention Clement's real magnanimity in behalf of Jews and in particular Portuguese Jews who were receiving arbitrary treatment from King John III.

Despite the author's presentation that Clement was a well-intentioned victim of variant circumstance, often of his own doing, the conclusion remains that for Clement and the Curia there were eleven propitious and amphibolic years, in which ideology had hardened neither the human sympathies of the religious parties nor the exigency for reconciliation. Müller's deep analysis leaves Pastor's broader yet unsurpassed study basically unaltered—the range of Clement's responsibility and adaptibility was not appropriate to the needs of the time.

PETER F. MACALUSO
Montclair State College

M. SELIGER. *The Liberal Politics of John Locke.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. 387. $10.00.

JOHN W. YOLTON, editor. *John Locke: Problems and Perspectives. A Collection of New Essays.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 278. $9.50.

If John Locke, the young student of medicine, had not cured the Earl of Shaftesbury, so the legend goes, he would never have entered the charmed inner circle of London politics, philosophy, and letters. We owe, then, to this chance event the spate of books in the last two decades devoted to Locke the founder of liberalism and the father of the Enlightenment. Two of the most recent such efforts are Mr. Seliger's formidable treatise and the volume edited by John Yolton. To mince few words, the former is good but often makes for infuriating reading; the latter is an excellent collection and a pure delight.

Seliger's book is in many ways a tour de force, a reassessment of virtually every aspect of Locke's political philosophy. Locke is, to be sure, under attack from the Strausian right and the Macpherson left, but he is still very much the vital hero to the liberal, anti-totalitarian intellectuals, Talmon, Berlin, and Arendt. Despite this, Seliger sees a Locke and liberalism very much under attack and sees his mission as rescuing him from his critics and their charges of inconsistency, confusion, and muddleheadedness. But his mission is even grander than this, for by saving Locke from his detractors, Seliger assumes that liberalism will itself be saved, its inner unity established, and its relevance and usefulness for contemporary life re-established. This does not necessarily follow, however. To begin with, Seliger never convincingly makes the case for identifying liberalism as an ideology with the ideas of Locke. But even if one simply assumes this, as he does, then it does not follow that because one proves Locke to be subtler and more complex than hitherto believed one has done anything to revive the stock of liberalism today. All one has done logically is say that liberalism is subtler and more complex, but that does not, it seems to me, by itself win over too many converts in any ideological conflict. What Seliger is up to in all of this is the claim, perfectly legitimate but not very novel, that Locke's political ideas, and therefore liberalism, are by no means democratic and that they are quite receptive to authority, power, and elitism. That this is not all that original is most obviously attested to by the later criticism of Locke in Rousseau and democratic thought on the one hand and in the anarchist tradition on the other.

Before turning to the very obvious merits of the book, one further comment on its missionary zeal, which brings me to its occasionally infuriating quality: so obsessed is Seliger with rescuing Locke that he is determined to smite all dragons, that is, all other writers on Locke. Page after page and footnote after footnote are devoted to replies to and rebuttals of everything said about Locke by Straus, Vaughan, Macpherson, Kendall, Wolin, Lamprecht, and anyone else for that matter who ever dared write about Locke. Seliger is good, but surely all these commentators are not all worthless; one is somewhat suspicious when nothing they have said passes his defensive shield.

All this notwithstanding, the book is a very important contribution to an understanding

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of Lockean political philosophy. Seliger's reading of the *Second Treatise* may well be as good as one can find. He boils it down to some eight fundamental assertions. First, at the heart of Locke's thought is the traditional notion of natural law, not a break from it. From this notion flows the second assertion, the belief that despite the natural equality of men they possess different capacities for understanding the precepts of natural law. This belief allows Locke to appreciate the hierarchy involved in leadership and authority. Third, the state of nature is neither historical nor ideal; it is a hypothetical device used to illustrate the nature of man when abstracted from political reality. Fourth, Locke's views on property are not at all uncongenial to state action. Governments are, indeed, expected to prevent "the common and great distress" that causes the poor to rise up in arms. Fifth, Locke also denies the conventional notion of an original, communal sharing of all goods before the development of private property.

Where Seliger is most impressive is in his treatment of the three remaining, interrelated areas of Locke's thought to which he devotes most of his time: paternalism and authoritarianism; democracy, consent, and the people's right to revolution: and the prerogative and executive power of government. Seliger skillfully draws out the patriarchal quality of Locke's writings, even while he attacks Filmer, his appreciation of the natural evolution of government from father of family to fatherly monarchy, his acceptance of the benefits of one-man rule, even absolute monarchy, as long as its exercise is not arbitrary. In light of this Seliger draws attention to how open Locke was to the use of power by the executive in his mixed government. The link to his political philosophy is obvious, and we are presented with a Locke that is, as Seliger claims, somewhat different from the conventional picture. Where the analysis is at its best is in the discussion of Locke's theory of consent and revolution; this is the subtlest and most valuable part of the book as well as the most original contribution. This discussion does little justice to Seliger's exegesis, but suffice it to say that he cuts through the inevitable problem in Lockean interpretation of consent, real and tacit, by asserting simply that real consent in Locke is illustrated by the absence of dissent. "Any regime must be regarded as sustained by consent until it is challenged by revolution." The only control men have over government, according to Locke as read by Seliger, is a negative one to withdraw their support, to revolt. This is the extent of citizenship and democracy; it has nothing to do with positive proposing, deliberating, or influencing. Substitute for revolt, if you will, elect and kick out of office, and you have Seliger's Locke sounding very much like today's "undemocratic" theorists of democracy à la Schumpeter and Lipset, a fact not at all lost on Seliger, by the way. In final judgment, then, one can say that despite his disconcerting obsession with disproving and discrediting all other Lockean interpretations, Seliger does offer a refreshingly new Locke. Individual aspects of his argument may not be particularly novel, but the composite picture is of quite a different set of political ideas from those customarily known as Lockean.

The Yolton collection is in many ways a welcome relief from the claustrophobic exegetical, albeit valuable, treatment of Locke by Seliger. Its essays highlight the incredible diversity and genius of Locke. Some deal with issues raised by Seliger. Raymond Polin, for example, sees a fundamental unity between Locke's metaphysics, morals, and politics, while Gordon Schochet of Rutgers makes a very convincing case for Locke's lingering paternalism and its kinship to English political thought in the seventeenth century in general. Hans Aarsleff goes over much the same ground as Seliger in discussing the state of nature, but by concentrating more on the *Essay* and ethical questions in general, he offers a more penetrating discussion than does Seliger. Seliger's own contribution on Locke and nationalism is itself quite strained and, along with Debeer's piece, is among the weaker contributions to the volume. The articles contributed by the editor, John Yolton, and Richard Ashcraft of U.C.L.A. present a fascinating contrast. Yolton highlights the empirical, sensationalist dimensions of Locke's thought, while Ashcraft offers a most original and convincing description of Locke's convictions on religious faith and revelation.

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Of particular merit in this collection and worthy of being singled out for comment are three essays: one by an established Locke scholar and two by young and promising researchers. By coincidence these three articles are by and large the most directly relevant to historians. Peter Laslett contributes a fascinating account of Locke's career at the Board of Trade, complete with discussion of the "college," the group of M.P.'s very much under Locke's intellectual influence. Not only do we learn here of Locke's party and his role in the great recoinage, but also of his work on and concern with the affairs of the Virginia colony. Much as the way Burke scholars describe their hero, Laslett sees Locke's career in politics as nonideological and concerned with "detailed, concrete problems of what to do at a particular time in a particular situation." James Axtell, a young historian at Yale, offers in this volume a fascinating picture of Newton's reception by the intellectual community in general and by Locke in particular. We learn in this extremely well-documented piece of Locke's contributions to the Royal Society and of his review of and writings about the *Principia*. The article is necessary reading for intellectual historians and historians of science. The third piece of exceptional merit and interest in the volume is from another young scholar, John Dunn of King's College, Cambridge. Dunn offers a concise and useful historical setting and ideological purpose for the writing of the *Second Treatise*. In addition he offers a glimpse of his own reading of the book, an interpretation that he has elaborated on in his larger study, *The Political Thought of John Locke*, very much the match of, if not better than, Seliger's study. The heart of Dunn's contribution to this volume, however, is his discussion of the influence of the *Second Treatise* in England and America. Surprisingly enough, he finds the book much less influential than is usually assumed. Where it was read it came primarily on the coattails of the much more influential *Essay*. Dunn contends that only after 1760 did it exercise much influence in America and then only for the highly educated.

Thus another point of view, apparently definitive, in another area of controversy in Locke studies. The Locke industry is obviously alive and flourishing on both sides of the Atlantic as attested to by the diverse research in this delightful and eminently readable volume and by the amount of Locke and Lockean criticism published yearly. All of this we owe to Shaftesbury's abscess!

ISAAC KRAMNICK
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J. S. BROMLEY, editor. *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Volume 6, *The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688–1715/25*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xxxiv, 947. $12.50.

The title of this volume and occasional inferences in its chapters suggest the thesis that the eighteenth century belonged to those regimes that, during the period 1688–1725, could best come to terms with their internal contradictions while simultaneously extending frontiers and influence through war and diplomacy. Therefore, London's financial investment in the state during England's struggles against Louis XIV laid the foundations for British imperial success, and the triumph of Petrine autocracy during Russia's war against Charles XII established the bases for hers. On the other hand, the Habsburg advances into the Balkans, Hungary, and Italy, unaccompanied by significant social, economic, or administrative reforms, represented little more than territorial accumulation. The state itself was not strengthened. Finally, despite their apparent agricultural and commercial leadership, France and the United Provinces were losing control over the future (though the case for France is somewhat clouded), were unreformed socially, and, in an economic sense, remained a congeries of regions.

The idea is a good one, and it is refreshing that P. G. M. Dickson and John Sperling, in their excellent chapter on war finance, and Jean Meuvret, J. W. Stoye, and M. S. Anderson, in theirs on France, the Habsburgs, and Russia respectively, remind the reader of its survival now and again. Unfortunately, for the most part a blanket of repetitious narrative, stressing the details of war and diplomacy, nearly snuffs out what-

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ever view of thematic unity the volume's editor, J. S. Bromley, might have had when he commissioned the chapters. Worse still for the reader who may wish to consult the chapters in ways other than as isolated fragments, are the contradictions of fact and interpretation. Thus we sail twice with William III, but remain unsure whether he landed on November 15 (Sir George Clark, p. 226) or November 16, 1688 (E. S. De Beer, p. 204). To De Beer, James II's defeat ushered in "a period of Irish history which for Englishmen must always be shameful" (p. 214); but David Ogg finds that the Catholic Irish suffered only "a nominal proscription, considerably mitigated in its enforcement," plus a certain amount of economic discomfort (p. 256); and Jacob M. Price suggests that Britain's economic policies toward Ireland actually had a benevolent side. The prohibition of woolen exports encouraged development of linens, which England imported duty free (p. 867). Concerning Iberian affairs, the reintegration of Catalonia into the Spanish monarchy in 1717 affords one the opportunity to see historians arrive at what are almost contradictory conclusions derived from the same facts. R. D. Hussey and Bromley stress the theme of Bourbon moderation (pp. 379–80), while A. J. Veenendaal finds that, though there were no executions, "the Catalans were deprived of their political privileges and systematically humiliated" (pp. 444–45). Concerning personalities of the period, there is no shortage of different candidates for villainy. For Veenendaal, who takes the patriotic Dutch view, it is "the bold and unscrupulous" Bolingbroke. For H. G. Pitt, whose chapter on the Pacification of Utrecht commences with 1706, thereby repeating what already has been said by Hussey, Bromley, and Veenendaal, the Tory minister was more a far-seeing diplomat than an untrustworthy ally. The pigheaded Joseph I was the one to blame for missed opportunities in negotiating settlement of the War of the Spanish Succession prior to 1711. For the Polish historians Józef Gierowski and Andrzej Kamiński, it is Charles XII who personifies destructive ambition and inflexibility. Curiously enough, Louis XIV, the onetime object of historians' wrath in this period, escapes moral condemnation. More often than not, the poor *Roi Soleil* is relegated to the role of chess piece.

Coverage of the North and East again results in repetition of fact and occasionally in disagreement over interpretation. On three separate occasions we follow the course of Swedish neutrality in the Nine Years' War, only to discover three different explanations for it (Andrew Lossky, p. 184; Clark, p. 227; Ragnhild Hatton, pp. 650–51). The chapter on the Great Northern War turns into an unintentional debate over Charles XII's responsibility for the demise of Poland. To Gierowski and Kamiński the policies of Charles were imperialistic and unrealistically farfetched. They "fostered Polish divisions and at no time invited a rapprochement with Augustus II," Poland's only hope for strong, independent government (pp. 714–15). The intervention and subsequent defeat of the Swedish king sealed Poland's fate. On the other hand, Hatton sees the source of a policy to depose Augustus as coming from magnatial opposition to the Saxon, an opposition that was as resentful of his dependence upon Russia as it was fearful of his encroachments upon the privileges of the aristocracy. Initially Charles had defensive reasons for joining the magnates. He feared a Saxon attack at his rear during his Russian campaign. If he eventually envisioned the absorption of Livonia and Courland, a Poland enlarged at Russia's expense, and a friendly king on the throne of the Commonwealth, this represented a "grandiose though by no means unrealistic" way of resolving Sweden's Eastern problem (p. 660). Poltava shattered these ambitions, but in 1712–13 Charles indeed was trying to make a deal with Augustus—the abandonment of Sweden's Polish policy in exchange for troops against Peter. But it was Augustus who rejected the possibility of rapprochement.

Such then are the pitfalls of collaborative history. One may rightfully expect redeeming features, however. In a volume of contributions by twenty-eight seasoned writers, working in places as far removed as San Jose, Cracow, and Ankara, there ought to be offered an instructive sampling of various historiographical traditions. To an extent this does exist. Meuvret faithfully represents the

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Labrousse school of economic historians, and the cautious skill with which he uses price and population figures reveals to an English-reading audience just how sophisticated this type of scholarship has become in France. Both De Beer and Ogg show us that variations of the Whig interpretation of English history—one tempered by moral considerations, the other unapologetic—still flourish. The essays on science by A. C. Crombie and Michael Hoskin, on cultural change by W. H. Barber and Frederick W. Sternfeld, and on religion by J. McManners are among the best in the volume. They are honest, intelligent efforts to relate intellectual currents to social development. Though one might long for a treatment of popular culture, the analytical and comparative approaches by these five scholars are uniformly inspiring. Indeed, it is a telling factor that the sole attempt at a genuine historiographical essay in this volume of nearly 400,000 words is Sternfeld's—and his subject is music! But the authors writing on cultural history fail to rescue the work from colleagues obsessed with campaign strategy and diplomatic feints. Appropriately enough, the longest analytical chapter, the work of four collaborators, is on armies and navies.

The feeling that too often dominates the reader as he trudges through the volume is that of opportunities lost. A chapter on social classes or social units accompanying that by Price and Meuvret on economic activity, an analysis of the interrelationships between Europe and Latin America as comprehensive as Philip S. Haffenden's on the English and French colonies to the north, fuller coverage of internal developments in Russia and Brandenburg-Prussia, even a complete essay on European influences in Asia and Africa that would go beyond the pages devoted to missionary and economic activity, would be of far greater use than the double and triple replays of the campaigns of the War of the Spanish Succession. The index, though forty-four pages long, is not entirely trustworthy. An entry for Mexico notes six pages of text, but barely two are devoted to the subject; an entry for the Peace of Carlowitz refers to four pages that in reality deal with the Portuguese economy; an entry for Malta turns out in the text to be a reference to malt. To sum up, now that the *New Cambridge Modern History* project approaches completion, it would be worthwhile to reflect upon the usefulness of the series. Crane Brinton, one of the more generous of its critics, suggested perhaps its major function when he called volume 8 a reference work, not especially concerned with human beings (*AHR*, 71 [1966]: 1286–88). Unfortunately the massive volume 6 falls short, to a certain extent, even in that respect.

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ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON. *Europe in the Russian Mirror: Four Lectures in Economic History.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 158. $4.95.

For a century and more many persons have questioned whether Russia historically has belonged to the European community of nations or if instead it possessed a culture and tradition that were distinctly its own. Now Professor Gerschenkron in this series of published lectures, presented originally at Cambridge University in 1968, has sought to place the controversy in a broader context by suggesting that many interpretations of Western European economic and social traditions have not been tested properly by the inclusion of Russia's experiences in their samples. When viewed in the light of Russia's economic development, many of the more traditional European generalizations and concepts are revealed to be in need of some re-evaluation or serious qualifications.

Professor Gerschenkron has chosen to examine three aspects of Western European economic development in the light of Russia's experiences: the emergence of capitalism, the structure of mercantilism, and the development of industrialization. Few historians, of East or West, will question the overwhelming significance of these three areas in the growth of Europe in recent centuries. In the first two lectures Gerschenkron considers the applicability of Max Weber's thesis to the development of capitalism in Russia. He finds that the seventeenth-century Russian schismatics (the *raskolniki*) of the Orthodox

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faith do not serve as an adequate historical comparison with the Calvinists of the West, although he is not prepared to exclude certain ideas and customs of the *raskolniki,* which indirectly may have fostered the capitalist spirit.

Perhaps the most provocative essay is that on mercantilism, in chapter 3. It is Gerschenkron's contention that Russia's mercantilist experiences in the eighteenth century were distinctive from those of the rest of Europe, having "downright un-European substantive features." For that reason he challenges Eli Heckscher, who viewed mercantilism as possessing a classical form—based on the experiences of the major Western European states—from which Russia was excluded. Rather, Gerschenkron believes that, while all major European states adopted mercantilist policies to strengthen their positions as nation states, those policies differed in degree according to their stage of economic backwardness; mercantilism, he feels, must henceforth be viewed in a relative sense and not as though it possessed a theoretical norm. In the light of this interpretation it seems clear that the whole subject of mercantilism must undergo further research and reassessment.

The final lecture is devoted to a topic Professor Gerschenkron has dealt with at length elsewhere: the relative lateness of Russia's industrial growth and development together with the significant differences to be found in the techniques (financial, technical, and organizational) used by Russia to achieve industrial equality with the Western nations in the period from 1885 to 1914. In a recognizable revisionist manner he attacks those writers—especially E. H. Carr—who insist that Western industrial states provided the model for backward people and states to follow and uses this attack to create the base for his own contention: that backward states at the end of the nineteenth century did not adopt such "models" but rather took advantage of technical and other forms of "substitution" to achieve their goal of industrial parity. Until 1914 Russia, in Gerschenkron's estimation, provides a clear example of his "substitution" theory.

These four closely argued essays must long remain a mine for historians to explore. Naturally some may wish to take exception to some of Gerschenkron's interpretations, his use of evidence, and especially his tendency to isolate Russia's economic life in some cases from other experiences in which she also challenged the European norms. While few persons still feel the need to justify Russia's rightful place in European affairs, it is satisfying to find someone who is able to place Russia in a more balanced position vis-à-vis the rest of Europe. While the implications of this series of essays may not be convincing in all aspects, they do suggest that European historians can no longer make major generalizations without first considering Russia's role and attitude.

R. F. DREW
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STELIO MARCHESE. *La Francia ed il problema dei rapporti con la Santa Sede 1914–1924).* (L'Acropoli, New Series, Number 9.) [Naples:] Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. [1969.] Pp. 426.

In 1904 the Third Republic broke off diplomatic relations with the Holy See. In 1921, with many of the same politicians in power, the Republic and the Vatican again exchanged ambassadors. What were the reasons that led the Republicans to re-establish the embassy at the Vatican? In this book, Stelio Marchese, the author of *La riforma mancata: le idee religiose di Bettino Ricasoli* (1961), examines the most important of the motives of the Republic within the context of the larger diplomatic framework in which both powers operated. The book is valuable because of its use of Italian studies on the Vatican and its recent use of relevant collections of documents. Marchese has also used what documents were available at the Quai d'Orsay and the Public Record Office and the Cochin and Jonnart papers, although there are no major revelations.

Much of the work deals with World War I. The influence of the Germans in the Vatican, the pope's attempt to keep Italy out of the war, his refusal to condemn the "atrocities" of the Central Powers, whom he expected to win, all made it appear to the French that Benedict XV was "un papa tedesfilo." But the Comité catholique de propa-

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gande française and the superpatriotism of the French clergy completely offset any possible antireligious action on the part of the Republic because of papal neutrality. At the end of the war the Vatican adjusted rapidly to the disintegration of the old empires and emerged in a strong position, in spite of the failures of many of its diplomatic maneuvers. But it was the new power of the Church in postwar France and the return of Catholics to many positions of political power that made the issue of diplomatic relations such an important one.

Marchese makes it clear that one of the French hopes was that it could use Vatican influence in maintaining its position in the Near East: "L'anticléricalisme, ce n'est pas un article d'exportation." Because of the competition of Italian missionaries and German economic penetration, the French position had been weakened before the war; after the war Britain's influence and Arab nationalism made it even more unlikely that the Vatican would do anything to help France maintain past prerogatives. The Vatican had its own interests, which required cooperation with both the British and the Arabs. Professional diplomats like Paul Cambon blamed the growing weakness of France in the Near East on the crisis provoked by the separation and on the intrigues of the Italians, but it was a delusion to believe that the support of the Vatican could do much to help France regain its position, even if the popes had been fervidly Francophile. The most important reason for restoring diplomatic relations was that the French government had to deal with the pope on a wide range of domestic religious issues. The overwhelming importance of these domestic issues, although dealt with by Marchese, especially in chapter 6, is not made clear because of the extended treatment given to the general diplomatic situations of France and the Vatican. The nomination of an archbishop of Paris was far more important for the government than religious honors in Syria, however much Briand might harangue the Chamber on foreign glories. Marchese has a chapter on Poincaré's religious politics and a few pages on the fiasco of the cartel's attempt to revive anticlericalism. But his most important contributions are found in his treatment of areas in foreign affairs where the interests of the Vatican and France coincided or clashed.

H. W. PAUL
University of Florida

D. M. PROEKTOR. *Agressiia i katastrofa: Vysshee voennoe rukovodstvo fashistskoi Germanii vo vtoroi mirovoi voine, 1939–1945* [Aggression and Catastrophe: The Military High Command of Fascist Germany in the Second World War, 1939–1945]. (Vtoraia mirovaia voina v issledovaniiakh vospominaniiakh dokumentakh.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 637.

SVEN STEENBERG. *Vlasov*. Translated from the German by ABE FARBSTEIN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. vi, 230, ix. $7.50.

The heirs of Stalin and Vlasov are still alive and well in Soviet history-writing and emigré testimony. D. M. Proektor, using published Western sources, charges that the German high command was a "corporation closely linked with the leaders of monopoly capital and the Nazi party both by class and by politics." Sven Steenberg, a wartime German army interpreter, agrees with the Vlasovite emigrés he interviewed that General Andrei Vlasov's Russian Liberation Army of prisoners was a broad movement that "rejected the Nazi ideology and aimed at a genuine democratization of Russia." Proektor's few new archival materials devillainize Stalin; Steenberg's many new details rehabilitate Vlasov.

Proektor reiterates familiar Soviet arguments: the Wehrmacht was thoroughly Nazi; German plans to attack the USSR dated from *Mein Kampf* and were independent of the Battle of Britain; the Soviet people played the dominant role in defeating Hitler. Anti-Nazi behavior by army officers, such as the Blomberg-Fritsch crisis of 1938 and the plot of July 20, 1944, were "poorly prepared and without support." The purges, the Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet invasion of Poland, and Stalin's paralysis in the early weeks of the war are not mentioned.

Proektor's use of Soviet military archives for Stalin's benefit is more interesting as a reply to the anti-Stalinism of A. M. Nekrich's *June 22, 1941* (1965): the Red army was stronger than German estimates in 1941

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(324 divisions, not 209); Stalin's radio speech of July 3 was really an earlier mobilization directive of the Central Committee and Sovnarkom dated June 29; Marshal S. K. Timoshenko organized the Smolensk counterattack "at Stalin's demand" in July; Stalin "supported" Zhukov's decision in September 1943 to counterattack at Stalingrad. With its printing of twenty-five thousand copies, the book is more important as evidence of Stalin's status than of Prussian perfidy.

Steenberg portrays Vlasov as neither traitor nor mercenary but a courageous Soviet general betrayed to the Germans by a peasant during the battle on the Volkhov in July 1942, according to new testimony by a German army officer. Vlasov's army of Russian prisoners was neither pro-Nazi nor anti-Semitic, and its camp at Dabendorf was "opposed to National Socialism and Hitler's plans." He admits that many Russian prisoners might have volunteered "principally to escape starvation in the camps" but asserts that they later became "convinced members of the liberation movement." New details leave key questions unanswered: How many captured Russians did not desert? How many followed Vlasov only to save themselves? How many became anti-Nazis only after 1945? Did public anti-Semitism exist only to satisfy Nazi sponsors?

Steenberg's bibliography (German edition, pp. 248–52) ignores earlier studies by Boris Dvinov, who sees the movement as a pro-Nazi propaganda adventure, and Gerald Reitlinger, who suggests that the protection of Vlasovites by Stauffenberg and other anti-Nazi Wehrmacht officers did not imply democratic sympathies. Steenberg also fails to consider George Fischer's argument that the movement was a highly authoritarian amalgam of diverse views, from the "profoundly illiberal" NTS (Narodnyi trudovoi soiuz) to the anti-Stalinist communism of Zykov.

Neither book convinces.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMS
Washington University

J. T. CLIFFE. *The Yorkshire Gentry: From the Reformation to the Civil War.* (University of London Historical Studies, Number 25.) [London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1969. Pp. viii, 446. $12.50.

Among the major contributions of the current generation of historians to the study of the seventeenth century are the increasing numbers of detailed local and regional studies that have been able to examine in detail the validity of the general theories of Tawney, his followers, and his critics. Dr. Cliffe's book, which had already gained a formidable reputation as a thesis before the revision and expansion that gave it its present form, is a distinguished contribution to the genre.

The strength of such local studies lies in their capacity both to expose the flesh-and-blood existence of ordinary people and to quantify the data behind the sweeping generalizations conceived on a national basis. Dr. Cliffe succeeds on both fronts. Impressively documented from a multiplicity of manuscript sources, his study follows in detail the fortunes of nearly one thousand families in the century before the Civil War. Though convenient tabular summaries are provided throughout the text this is no exercise in mere statistical manipulation, for the daily preoccupations of the gentry, their expectations, and their tribulations are chronicled in telling fashion.

Dr. Cliffe is concerned with three main problems: the economic fortunes of the gentry, their religious affiliations, and the evolution of attitudes that made possible the slide into civil war and rebellion. He provides a clear and documented argument that it was possible to counteract the effect of the price revolution at least through the sixteenth century by improvements and careful management, though he shows, too, that this became increasingly difficult in the seventeenth century as the result both of economic factors and of the style of life expected of the gentry. His chapters on Catholicism are among the most interesting and significant in the book; the most striking feature isolated here is the gradual reduction of both the number and the proportion of Catholic families while at the same time the number of actual recusants rose. Legal and other pressures were clearly reducing the Catholics down to a hard core prepared to suffer for the faith.

In contrast to the chapters on the Catholics,

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the treatment of Puritans is the weakest part of the study. It is admittedly notoriously difficult to define a Puritan in the early seventeenth century, but Cliffe's general fuzziness of differentiation and his tendency to equate Puritan and Calvinist does not inspire full confidence at this point. This has some effect on the last portion of his work, for he sees Puritanism as the "powerful ideology . . . required to induce a significant section of the gentry to engage in revolution." Yet the last chapters are an important study of the growing polarization under Charles I. The currents uncovered and discussed by Dr. Cliffe do not lend themselves to short and simple summary. What he has shown is that those who embark on a simplistic explanation of the polarization, be it economic or otherwise, cannot support their case when faced with detailed local information.

ROGER HOWELL, JR.
Bowdoin College

J. A. VAN DORSTEN. *The Radical Arts: First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance.* (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden. Special Series Number 4.) New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute. 1970. Pp. xi, 146. $10.50.

Van Dorsten attempts to discover how the preceding generation contributed to the achievements of "the Elizabethan Age" of 1580–1600, and explores comparatively obscure areas of Anglo-Continental learning and the arts of the 1560s. He believes that the earlier generation, growing up under the strain of the Reformation, sought to prevent the calamity of division in Christian society and to do so tried to guide the rulers with "the magic of their many arts." "A worried generation of historians and lawyers, geographers, engineers, artists, mathematicians, and linguists were asking themselves the basic question whether they served any great purpose unless their several disciplines could offer intelligent solutions to actual, non-academic problems."

Van Dorsten finds the circle of Catherine de Medici of central importance and discovers the most important links in England with the Franco-Flemish intellectual world to be among the London community of Strangers. Many well-known and obscure men and movements appear, including, for example, the Family of Love, Acontius, Dee, Ramus, Plantin, Hoefnagel, De Heere, Ortelius, and Languet. Van Dorsten finds of special significance two works published about 1570: a translation by an Englishman in Paris of Ronsard's *Discours des Misères de ce Temps* (reprinted in one of the appendixes) and Spenser's *Theatre for Worldlings*, based on Du Bellay from a Dutch version by a London Stranger, Jan Van der Noot.

While Van Dorsten is properly tentative about the connections he thinks existed, he nevertheless believes that the men and ideas he draws together out of the 1560s had a direct influence on the men and activities of the 1580s, on the Sidney circle and the rest. "But it is evident that the ideas which had so excited the cosmopolitan *avant-garde* of poets, artists, and scholars of the sixties, had by no means spent their force when England at last resumed its place in the history of European civilization." Although an unreflective reader could receive a distorted view of the period from this erudite and handome book, it will certainly contribute to the more accurate picture being sought by many scholars.

WALTER L. WOODFILL
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FRANK LIVINGSTONE HUNTLEY. *Jeremy Taylor and the Great Rebellion: A Study of His Mind and Temper in Controversy.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 131. $7.50.

Huntley's book is aimed at the student of literature. But as in both method and content it is largely historical, it cannot be absolved from historical criticism. The author analyzes Jeremy Taylor's thought, concentrating on three main phases: the argument for episcopacy (1642); the defense of a limited religious toleration in the well-known *Liberty of Prophesying* (1647); and the criticism of predestination in *Unum Necessarium* (1655). In all three cases Huntley's treatment resembles the old-fashioned kind of intellectual history, now rarely practiced: the discussion of ideas in a social and political vacuum. No serious attempt is made to place any of

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Taylor's works in its historical setting, and such background as is given does not inspire much confidence. Thus Huntley regards the Arminians as representative of early seventeenth-century Anglican opinion (p. 73), thinks Presbyterians were by definition hostile to monarchy (p. 12), and has the Presbyterians "in power" in 1655 (p. 58). His account of Taylor's imprisonment in that year makes no mention that it was part of a wholesale series of arrests following the discovery of Royalist plots, and he grotesquely misrepresents the position of the Anglicans during the Protectorate (pp. 62–64). It is odd to find an author still citing the old Bray-Wheatley edition of *Evelyn's Diary*, fifteen years after the appearance of the definitive de Beer edition. Huntley makes no effort to place Taylor's theory of toleration in the context of the traditional Anglican doctrine of *adiaphora* in order to resolve the paradox that an Anglican should be defending toleration at all or to examine seriously the limits Taylor placed on it (those who "weakened the hands of government" were significantly excluded). All too often the author allows himself to be diverted into futile attempts to prove that Taylor was right or relevant to the twentieth century. Is it not more useful to try to understand him in terms of his own time?

DAVID UNDERDOWN
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IDA MACALPINE and RICHARD HUNTER. *George III and the Mad-Business*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1969. Pp. xv, 407. $10.00.

The treatment of George III's occasional derangements by his physicians and the various diagnoses of his malady by later theoreticians afford important insights into the evolution of modern psychiatry. His own case marked a turning point. His prominence lent respectability to the specialized care of the insane, and that very specialization led to a loosening of the ties with medicine, a development that Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter obviously think permits an indictment of psychodynamic psychiatry in general.

In this interesting, well-written book a remarkable mother-son team of British psychiatrists pursue their by now well-known contention that George III, his Stuart ancestors, and some of his descendants were victims of a hereditary metabolic disorder, variegate porphyria. It was the toxic confusional state brought on by this disease, they suggest, not some inherent flaw of personality, that afflicted the king in 1788, 1801, 1804, and 1810.

Theirs is an impressive piece of detective work. They make judicious use of a number of hitherto lost or neglected sources, including Mayerne's case notes on James I and the papers of the Queen's Council, which give an account of George III's last years of confinement. They have prepared the ground for revisionists in a number of places; to cite one, they have established the king's "insanity" in 1765 as a myth. Moreover, their work points up the hazard of historians venturing beyond their competence. For example, it would appear that the authors have finally laid to rest Guttmacher's utterly pervasive, utterly erroneous picture of George III as a weak and unstable neurotic beset by a severe manic-depressive psychosis, a ruler whose sexual frustrations led to breakdowns and whose pathological inability to face reality had far-reaching consequences. Although no one would deny that George III, even when not deranged, was a difficult monarch to manage, clearly it will henceforth be imprudent for any historian to offer conclusions about the king's personality—and its impact on politics—based on any such simplistic notion of neuroticism.

And yet this long overdue inhibition should, but apparently does not, extend to the reception of the Macalpine-Hunter hypothesis itself. It is curious that historians have rushed to embrace what many prominent medical clinicians insist is not yet a proved, nor perhaps a provable, diagnosis. The book itself fails to present a very satisfactory discussion of porphyria and to respond to serious objections to the authors' diagnosis that have been raised on clinical, genetic, and biochemical grounds since their first article on this subject appeared in 1966. For this the interested reader must still search through the *British Medical Journal*. Unfortunately, too, the discovery that some living collateral descendants of George III are

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indeed porphyriacs came too late to be included.

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IAN R. CHRISTIE. *Myth and Reality in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Politics and Other Papers.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. 383. $12.00.

With this collection of seventeen essays, about half of which are reprinted from earlier publications, Professor Christie assists materially in the process of rebuilding a coherent interpretation of late eighteenth-century British politics made necessary by Sir Lewis Namier's monumental demolition of the Whig canon. The author's established point of view emerges in briefer compass and more succinctly than ever before; and, simultaneously, some interesting new ground is broken. This is especially true of the very meritorious treatment of the British press in the late Georgian age.

At first glance the book would seem to lack intellectual unity. This is an illusion. Christie adopts and elaborates three unifying themes: the development of the British government under "limited monarchy" in the late eighteenth century; the pragmatic working of the political system; and the several programs for constitutional reform before 1793. The "myth" of the double-cabinet, formulated brilliantly by Burke and the Rockingham Whigs as a means of explaining and justifying their own political impotence, provides a single focus.

Professor Christie recognizes that myth possesses a species of reality, however, and that the Whig myth, in particular, produced very real—and significant—consequences. Under its influence Rockingham and his friends articulated a concept of party very close to the modern idea of party, and they encouraged various programs for constitutional reform between 1768 and 1782. Besides these essentially constructive fulminations, there was a less happy result: acting upon their own formulations of principles of public interest, the Old Whigs denied to themselves the opportunity to influence American policy at a time of supreme crisis.

Although Christie is not concerned directly with the American Revolution, the implications of his thought touch it in an extremely important way. American revolutionaries, believing that a conspiracy existed in England against liberty in general and American liberty in particular, were moved by a preconceived theory—their own version of the myth—fully as much as were British statesmen who considered they were defending the Constitution against radicals aiming to destroy it. Neither Whigs nor Americans were hypocrites; but no more were British statesmen, inept and unimaginative as they may have been, engaged in sinister plots against liberty. Ample explanation for the American debacle is to be found in the maturation of colonial political life, increasingly restive under the centralizing tendency of British imperial policy.

In the largest context Christie argues persuasively that the opposition to George III and his ministries that arose from several sources—Whig, Wilkite, and American—was not what the participants themselves believed it to be, namely, a battle against royal authoritarianism; rather it was a new chapter in a centuries-old advance toward a higher degree of political liberalism. Failing to understand that they were participating in the foundation of a "new political world" in which old practices were being found increasingly inadequate, the aristocratic, metropolitan, and American opposition clothed their thought and action in the language of a myth that became transcendent reality for themselves and succeeding generations of Whig historians.

The number of typographical errors is regrettably large.

CHARLES R. RITCHESON
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STANDISH MEACHAM. *Lord Bishop: The Life of Samuel Wilberforce, 1805–1873.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. x, 328. $13.50.

Samuel Wilberforce, for all his dualism and complexity, has been well served biographically, both by Ashwell and Wilberforce in their three-volume *Life* (1880–82), which still remains one of the fullest and most readable accounts of a Victorian public figure, and by

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David Newsome's penetrating and vivid portrait in *The Parting of Friends* (1966). Unfortunately Professor Meacham, despite his inclusion of "some material which the former biographers decided for various reasons to exclude" is able to add very little of any real substance. There is no bibliography whatever.

Instead we follow again the swift, prudently calculated rise of a highly motivated and well-connected clergyman to an episcopate that was already transforming itself from a "patronage" to a "merit" bureaucracy. The diocesan success story is reiterated. We note the administrative skill, the physical drive, the grasp of parochial minutiae, the tightening control of patronage and clerical recruitment, the conscious creation of an episcopal image; and the neo-Utilitarian preoccupation with numerical indicators of pastoral achievement such as attendances, communicants, and sittings. Yet his Evangelically nurtured, "practical" Christianity, while yielding diocesan results, was too coarse to cope with intellectual doubts (Meacham gives us an admirably Huxley set-piece here) and too insensitive to current theological passions. A full account of the Hampden affair merely confirms that it was Wilberforce's weakness for injudicious, if sincere, temporizing rather than anxiety over his advancement prospects that prompted his *volte face*. The "self-idolizing tendency" (p. 83) of Evangelicalism and the historicism and "strong perceptions on peculiar points" (p. 79), which he felt to bedevil Tractarianism were both for Wilberforce counterproductive components of an essentially national church. His own churchmanship, however, only demonstrated true comprehensiveness in a highly traditional view of the Church of England as the common social denominator in a necessarily hierarchical society, while on specific issues—"the vile harlotry of the Papacy" (p. 287), education, and Irish disestablishment—he could demonstrate almost sectarian rigidity. At the same time he did not blindly resist intellectual or doctrinal change. (Darwin considered his review of the *Origin of Species* to be "uncommonly clever" [p. 214], while Maurice described Wilberforce's synopsis of the *Theological Essays* as "as lucid and beautiful as anything I ever read" [p. 211].) More usually his position and actions accurately reflected a precise imbalance between his ambition—reflected in his sycophantic deference at Court and in his constant realignments with prime ministers (the queen told Gladstone how she "liked and admired" Wilberforce *"most before* he became a Bishop" [p. 278])—and the integrity imposed by a deeply felt personal faith. The latter, not the former, led him to reject or compromise on the doctrinal stances, which would, had he embraced them, have undoubtedly furthered his legitimate ambitions. Professor Meacham rightly stresses "the unworldliness of this very worldly man" (p. 33).

GRAHAM HOWES
Trinity Hall, Cambridge

GALEN BROEKER. *Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland, 1812–36.* (Studies in Irish History. Second Series, Number 8.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 254. $8.50.

Historians of the British Isles increasingly are becoming aware that Irish developments often prefigured English events. Professor Broeker's study of rural disorder and police reform in Ireland provides an excellent case in point. The combined efforts of Sir Robert Peel and of his friend and colleague Henry Goulburn gave Ireland in the early 1820s the most advanced police system in the British Isles. Peel's experience in Irish police matters was the vital background to his formation of the London metropolitan police force in 1829. Further to the point, the Irish constabulary act of 1836 created in Ireland a wholly professional cadre of police and paid magistrates under the command of Dublin Castle; county police forces were not compulsory in England until 1856.

The evolution of specialized police and magisterial agencies is an important step in the development of any society, for it marks the disappearance of one of the last vestiges of feudal custom, namely the commingling of the positions of landed magnate, militia captain, and judicial magistrate. The great virtue of Professor Broeker's book is that his discussion of the acute need for professional police and magisterial forces in Ireland is both a satisfactory causal explanation of the establishment of those forces and a compas-

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sionate description of the plight of the Irish peasantry. Abject poverty, unchecked population growth, religious disabilities, factional rivalries, and party strife produced constant social turmoil that was well beyond the control of the gentry who sat as magistrates. The government's final remedy was the establishment in 1836 of the Irish Constabulary, a paramilitary force responsible directly to Dublin Castle and composed solely of professionals, a most efficient force indeed.

This book is based solidly on primary sources, chiefly those in the Home Office papers of the Public Record Office, London. Undoubtedly the author's argument could have been strengthened by greater use of the "outrage papers" found in the State Paper Office, Dublin Castle. The book is gracefully written, often lively, and sometimes amusing. The only stylistic flaw is that the volume has been edited according to the eccentric procedures of *Irish Historical Studies,* a circumstance over which, one assumes, Professor Broeker had no control.

DONALD H. AKENSON
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

E. G. W. BILL and J. F. A. MASON. *Christ Church and Reform, 1850–1867.* (Christ Church Papers, Number 1.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 269. $7.75.

In a long book-length essay with some seventy pages of appended documents—the first volume in a series of occasional monographs and papers relating to the history of Christ Church College—the archivist (Bill) and the librarian (Mason) tell a story of change in one corner of Oxford University in the middle of the nineteenth century. The story is told with the skill we have come to expect of the tradition of Winstanley, of course older than Winstanley: an excellent collection of fact and detail, new materials added to old, close judgments on the behavior of central figures (Dean Liddell, private, full of surprises), and a perfectly intelligible, confident discussion of the issues, characteristics, and organization of the House. There is no need to summarize the detail here, only to emphasize its value and variety and then move on to a number of questions and conclusions.

The authors narrate from the inside and move outside only insofar as reform of this true English peculiar made necessary the intervention of various other instruments of government. Certainly their account makes clear that reform in mid-Victorian Christ Church cannot be explained by that misused optical metaphor that makes change of one sort a reflection of another, or by a cheap version of functionalist theory in costume for the same purpose. Religious explanations—low versus high Church, or more broadly, secular versus clerical—are de-emphasized; political differences—liberals versus conservatives—are played down. Yet the Christ Church act occurred in the same year as the second franchise reform. Is that important (I don't mean mechanically important)? And whereas it is refreshing not to have explanations of change in the clichés of class conflict, perhaps it would be helpful to have a more extended discussion of the "Peck" undergraduates, the most privileged collection of students in either Oxford or Cambridge (there is a small amount of understated information in the book).

Despite their caution, however, Bill and Mason, after recounting the negotiations and the position papers, come to an important decision: the process of change at Christ Church can be partly understood as a generational conflict, but essentially it was "a special version, in a unique context, of the well-known wider struggle of Tutors against Professors." There were more professors at Christ Church than in any other single college, making the House both an anachronism and a forerunner; furthermore, they were canons of the cathedral, which was part of the college, and therefore, comprising the chapter, joined with the dean to make the governing body. The conclusion to this fine pilot volume—in a project that should mightily be encouraged and emulated—must therefore be the starting point for a second series of questions enabling us to move inside and outside the university in other ways. Why did the royal commission liberals of 1850 want—deeply want—more professorial teaching in England's ancient universities? What is the significance of the fact that an important educational decision boiled down to a dispute between the propo-

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nents of two different forms of university teaching? What does this tell us about the character of change in an industrial society? And finally, to shift tenses obviously, what happens to teaching, or to the organization of teaching, during the critical period when universities are making structural and constitutional adjustments? What happens in classrooms and staircases, courts and quadrangles, chapels, libraries, common rooms, and boating houses? Only when we take up these questions will we be able to continue the historical task of wiring the inner circuit of a society and, incidentally, also learn something about education—not merely its uses but also its nature—in full context.

SHELDON ROTHBLATT
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TREVOR WILSON, edited with an introduction and commentary by. *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott, 1911–1928*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. 509. $10.00.

This diary is something of a puzzle. As its editor readily admits, Scott's reasons for beginning such a journal at the age of sixty-four are obscure. In 1911 he was not, as he had once been, part of the inner circle of Liberal publicists like J. A. or Harold Spender, H. W. Massingham, or J. A. Hobson. Although most of the book concentrates on discussions with Lloyd George, the first part, covering the years between 1911 and 1914, show Loreburn, hardly a coming man, to be his nearest confidante. What then was he doing? He was not writing a personal memoir in any sense: more likely he thought of it as notes for a book. It may have been the product of the journalist's and scholar's urge to scribble.

By and large the book is a series of vignettes or slow-motion movies of certain occurrences at which Scott was a reporter: the coming of the war, the 1915 coalition, the conscription crisis, the fall of Asquith, the extension of conscription to Ireland, the peace conference, and the Irish treaty. All of these were, to be sure, political matters. Yet Scott was not of the stuff of politics in this period. He was not a participant in events like Beaverbrook, but a spectator. Nor did Lloyd George muse to him about his personal plans and hopes as he did to Lord Riddell (whose diaries might be republished with the intelligent editing Scott's have received). The book reads as if it were a series of newspaper interviews. The diary is thus less valuable than one might have expected. Scott did not understand, and did not approve of, the twentieth-century mechanics of government. For Beaverbrook or Northcliffe, politics were a matter of influencing decisions and of making or breaking officeholders, of men and power. Instead Scott lectured Lloyd George on the true principles of Liberalism. One suspects that the prime minister grew tired of it. He at least was never in doubt whether it was better to lose an election or betray a promise. The book then is not really a diary, but, in part at least, the political testament of a good and wise man who spent his last years trying vainly to devise an equation between Victorian Liberalism and Georgian nihilism. In part also, it may be an attempt by a conscientious journalist, caught in his old age in a world crisis of which he knew he would not see the end, to get a few things straight. Even here he was not altogether successful. The politicians to whom he talked said little that the world did not already know. Clearly they did not trust him. Perhaps he was too honest.

BENTLEY B. GILBERT
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KEITH MIDDLEMAS and JOHN BARNES. *Baldwin: A Biography*. [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. xvii, 1149. $14.95.

Fifteen years ago the late C. L. Mowat in a very perceptive review article asked whether the reputation of Stanley Baldwin could be restored. "Not without much care on the part of his restorers," Mowat maintained, "who, so far, have served him ill." "Unlucky in his critics," Mowat further noted of Baldwin, "he has been equally unlucky in his champions." It would indeed be a great relief to report that Baldwin had at last found his champions in Messrs. Middlemas and Barnes, but alas, it seems that the unfortunate man is still doubly unlucky. This is all the more regrettable because the biographers have not only been given an extraordinary latitude by their publishers with regard to space in this volume, but they have also had unique

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opportunities with regard to unpublished official materials, private papers, and personal interviews. The authors, moreover, are not content simply to restore Baldwin's reputation, but they seek to establish his claim to greatness.

The crucial question, of course, is what this effort of 400,000 and more words contributes to our understanding of the man who dominated British politics for nearly fifteen years between 1923 and 1937. The answer, sadly enough, is precious little. Why this is so has mainly to do with the assumption made by the authors that if indeed they started from "scratch" (p. xiv) and told the whole story, the real Stanley Baldwin, "whose influence was so subtle and pervasive that it affected almost all departments of government," would emerge. The result of this comprehensive effort to come to terms with the "times" of Stanley Baldwin has unfortunately cost the authors their subject's "life." Baldwin's real strength was in his ability to communicate his integrity, decency, and real concern to the electorate in a democratic age. His weakness was that neither his judgment nor his will were up to those qualities that his ability had translated into political power.

The authors' basic assumption that an all-inclusive narrative embodies self-evident analysis results, moreover, in a kind of monotone in which events, great and small, are distinguished rather than emphasized. The upshot is that there is no sense of any growth or development in the characterization, and the biography consequently lacks a dynamic. The peak moments in Baldwin's life when judgment and will were effectively joined, and around which an attempt might have been made to create a dynamic, were certainly not many, but they were important and indeed creditable to him. They included, for example, his determination to break up the Lloyd George coalition and to send that great man into the political wilderness and keep him there; to accept and to encourage Labour as a viable alternative in government; to check the press lords in their efforts to exercise political power without responsibility; to grant India a constitution: and to persuade a headstrong young king in love that abdication was the better part of discretion.

The worst political moments, however, reveal in Baldwin a defective judgment and a deficiency in will, which the authors continually and for the most part unconvincingly attempt to mitigate; when that is patently impossible, as in the Hoare-Laval fiasco, they then frankly admit to it in the best Baldwin tradition. Still, when the Tariff election, the General Strike, the Trades Disputes Act, the "safety first" election, the forming of the National Government, and the foreign policy decisions that had to do with Manchuria, the Anglo-German Naval Treaty, Abyssinia, and the League of Nations, as well as the confusion and the muddle created in the public mind on the question of a mandate for rearmament, are all taken together (and there was more), their cumulative effect is to produce a political Mr. Hyde for Baldwin's Dr. Jekyll. While there is, then, no question of establishing Baldwin's greatness, for his lapses in judgment and will preclude that, his biographers may be fairly criticized for pursuing the chimera and losing thereby the opportunity of doing what was at least possible and certainly worthwhile—the restoration of that abused man's good name.

EMMET LARKIN
University of Chicago

ROLAND MOUSNIER. *La plume, la faucille et le marteau: Institutions et société en France du Moyen Âge à la Révolution.* ("Collection Hier.") Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 404. 40 fr.

In spite of its elaborate title, this book is not a new work by Professor Mousnier but a collection of his earlier writings. These include one unprinted lecture and fifteen articles published between 1947 and 1965. A number of them appeared in rather obscure journals and *Festschriften;* the re-publication of all of them is a great convenience.

In his introduction, only five pages of which contain new material, Mousnier states that the book has a theme: the relationships between institutions and social structure in old France. These relationships, he affirms, are constant, reciprocal, multiple, and highly complex; the task of exploring and describing them is so formidable that historians have tended to neglect it. Mousnier promises that the articles in the book will attack the problem from different angles and eventually lead the reader closer to "the truth."

Unfortunately, his promises remain only partially fulfilled. The first article, which con-

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cludes the introduction, proposes a methodology for the analysis of social structure in early modern France and is thus relevant to the theme; but its contribution to "the truth" is compromised by a bitter polemic against the methodology of Ernst Labrousse and his "statistical school." The book's first section, entitled "Valeurs de la société," includes a comparison of the theologies of St. Bernard and Luther, an examination of the French idea of their "constitution" in the seventeenth century, and analyses of the political ideas of Louis Turquet de Mayerne (a sixteenth-century monarchomach) and of Fénelon. Hardly beyond criticism in themselves, these four articles bear only an obscure relationship to both the section's title and the book's theme. The second section, "Le Développement de l'état moderne," touches more directly on the theme. Four of the articles, however (on the growth of Paris as a capital from 1200 to 1789, the development of the *conseil du roi* from Henri IV to 1661, the "creation" of the intendant system between 1634 and 1648, and the relations between governors and intendants during the first half of the seventeenth century), though based on original research, do not represent a departure from traditional administrative history. The last two articles, one on the evolution of monarchical institutions and their relations with society, the other on popular participation in the French government during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are pertinent, intelligent syntheses of much of the section's earlier material. Read consecutively, however, they tend to get repetitive.

The unity, originality, and persuasiveness of the articles in the third section make this the most successful part of the book. Entitled "Les Réactions du corps social au développement de l'état," it discusses protests and uprisings against the French government during the seventeenth century and includes Mousnier's classic critique of the Soviet historian B. F. Porchnev. A close reading of this section also affords a rather clear view of Mousnier's approach to historical research, his cautiousness and conservatism, and, above all, the bases for his quarrel with a Marxist interpretation of seventeenth-century social history. A final section, "Vers l'histoire comparative," contains only one article, a comparison of the commerce in offices in Venice with that in France.

In any collection of this sort there are bound to be repetitions, but these are irksome only if the book is read from cover to cover. A more annoying feature is that footnotes are not brought up to date; articles in the present collection are referred to by their original paginations, thus reducing the book's convenience. But the most basic faults are that the whole lacks the unity that is promised in the introduction, and that the inclusion of certain articles (the one on Luther, for example) and not others—as Mousnier's discussion of French population in the seventeenth century—is never fully explained. What we have, then, is not a book but a collection, and that is what it should have been called.

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JACQUES ROLAND-GOSSELIN. *Le Carmel de Beaune, 1619–1660.* [Rabat:] Imprimeries Françaises et Marocaines. 1969. Pp. vii, 645.

Twelve thousand folios compressed into 645 printed pages and enough footnotes to last a lifetime describe the religious life of a group of women in a small convent in a remote area of France. The evolution of a Burgundian Carmelite nun Marguerite du Saint-Sacrement is the central theme of *Le Carmel de Beaune*. The reader, however, still cannot dispense with the background provided by Abbé Bremond. Some of the questions that he raised fifty years ago have not been answered in this volume. Part of the problem would have been solved if the *thèse secondaire* covering the contacts of the Carmel of Beaune with the outside world had been published.

The book is a thesis and has all the faults of its genre. It discusses a topic, devotion to the infancy of Christ, that is hardly congenial to our times. Yet by allowing Marguerite and her companions to speak for themselves the author has given a lasting impression of the strange world of French mysticism in the seventeenth century. M. Roland-Gosselin does not have Bremond's grasp of the interplay of influences in this theological jungle, but he does describe vividly the women who wanted to be "immolated as a victim at the foot of the crèche of the Holy Infant Jesus." Further, enough of the in-

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fluence of this devotion on the outside world is described to make it certain that to ignore these women would be to misunderstand religious reform in seventeenth-century France. How these nuns came to their preoccupations is another matter. The reader must decide for himself. There is enough evidence given to keep economic determinists, abnormal psychologists, and mystical theologians busy for quite a while.

It is to be hoped that M. Roland-Gosselin will now study further the lives of some of the people who were connected with Sister Marguerite. Perhaps the person to begin with is the nobleman and self-proclaimed spiritual adviser Gaston de Renty, who has intrigued most writers on French mysticism without yet finding a modern biographer. Even more interesting would be a study of the women who organized and reformed religious orders and societies during the first half of the seventeenth century. The constantly repeated pattern of intelligent, strong-willed upper middle-class women joining with authoritarian priests to effect this revival bears investigation.

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN
University of Saskatchewan

DAVID HUNT. *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France*. New York: Basic Books. 1970. Pp. xiv, 226. $6.95.

This unusual little book attempts to fuse history and psychology. Its milieu is principally early seventeenth-century France. Its major sources are some Richelieu family papers at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the *Journal de Jean Héroard sur l'enfance . . . de Louis XIII*. The author is a historian by profession, but he writes that he spent the summer of 1965 working in a clinic for disturbed children in Rochester, New York, and that in the academic year 1965–66 he was a teaching assistant and seminar student of Professor Erik Erikson at Harvard. His approach to psychoanalysis and the Freudian tradition is through Erikson; his view of the interrelationships of Old Regime society and the family has been largely shaped by Philippe Ariès. In his opening chapters Hunt summarizes the thinking of these two men.

The heart of the book is the section entitled "Children," which is certain to raise the hackles of any historian reluctant to employ modern psychoanalytical theories to achieve new historical truths and insights. Hunt takes as a point of reference Erikson's stages of infantile psycho-social and psycho-sexual development by which the infant's libido is said to be concentrated in turn on different bodily zones—the mouth, the anus, the genitals. He believes the historical evidence he here examines bears out Erikson's theories at all three stages but especially at the second, anal stage. At this point the child strives for a new autonomy, which is made possible by the acquisition of certain muscular and intellectual skills. The key issue is the management of the bowels and whether or not the infant will be made to feel defeated in his attempt at autonomy. Hunt maintains that Old Regime society did defeat the infant in his struggle for autonomy. The result was a psychic catastrophe. The defeat was brought about not, as a modern would immediately suspect, by overly strict toilet training (such concern for hygiene would have been inconceivable in that society) but rather by excessive preoccupation with cleaning out intestinal superfluities. A routine purging of the child's intestines was said to take place immediately after the umbilical cord was cut, and from that moment the child was never allowed to have complete control over his own bowels. The author sees important historical implications in such customs: a society that knew so little freedom itself could not countenance the first signs of autonomy in its offspring. "A repressive status quo is anchored in the conflicts of the anal stage," writes Professor Hunt.

It is unlikely that any minds will be changed by this book. Readers already disposed to accept Freud and Erikson will probably acclaim it. Many others will be outraged and will accuse Hunt of being more interested in shoring up psychological theories than in adding to our knowledge of the past. But nearly all will agree that this is a provocative and readable book.

LEON BERNARD
University of Notre Dame

Au siècle des Lumières. (Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et

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sociales. Institut d'Histoire Universelle de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.) Paris: SEVPEN. 1970. Pp. 308. 35 fr.

ROBERT NIKLAUS. *A Literary History of France: The Eighteenth Century, 1715–1789.* New York: Barnes and Noble. 1970. Pp. xx, 435. $11.50.

These works prevent diametrically opposed but complementary approaches to the French Enlightenment: the first volume is a random collection of specialized essays and the Niklaus book an attempt at broad synthesis. Though both have their merits, they repeat disconcertingly the usual failures of their respective genres and miss several special opportunities as well.

Au siècle des Lumières brings together thirteen miscellaneous essays by different authors, but the whole field of the French Enlightenment is too extensive to ensure the volume any significant unity. The quality, originality, and usefulness of individual contributions vary markedly. Inevitably the scope of nearly all the essays is restricted, and factual investigation, not interpretation, is the rule; Jean Ehrard's essay on Diderot's *Jacques le Fataliste* is really the only exception. Subjects range from such obscure topics as the "social anthropology" of Jean-Nicolas Démeunier and the "socialism" of François Boissel, to a partial consideration of the most celebrated thinkers—Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau. Among the more valuable of the thirteen essays are Ehrard's, noted above; Michel Launay's on the Genevan political environment of Rousseau's boyhood; Mona Ozouf's on oratorical commemorations of the Revolution, from Thermidor to Brumaire; Porsnev's on Meslier, Morelly, and Deschamps (this essay upholds the possibility of Morelly and Deschamps being the same person); and Ioannisjan's on Boissel and the "socialist idea" during the Revolution. Among other essays is L. S. Gordon's on the smuggler Mandrin and his legend, in which Gordon appeals persuasively for further investigation of French popular literature of the period. Also included are some unconvincing exercises in applied Marxism, such as Momdzjan's attribution of "spontaneous dialectic" to Diderot, or I. I. Sivolap's simplistic view of Voltaire as optimist and activist.

The worth of many individual contributions makes one wish that some attempt had been made at genuine thematic integration in this collection. As it stands, the volume is simply equivalent to the random contents of a handful of scholarly journals dedicated to the French Enlightenment—by no means a useless compilation, but certainly a missed opportunity. And the missed opportunity becomes especially unfortunate in view of the deliberate national and ideological extremes represented here. To have brought together in one volume the research both of Western and of Soviet historians is laudable; to see neglected, in large part, the special opportunities of this variegated collective authorship is disappointing indeed. The inclusion of parallel or closely related topics would have been particularly useful and enlightening, not only for ideological contrast but for comparison of pertinent source materials available in Russia and the West. To be sure, it is questionable whether current Soviet academic pressures would permit any full frankness of dialogue and indeed whether Western scholarship would always enthusiastically welcome such collaborative debate. Nevertheless, this collection, by its very failures as well as by its limited successes, helps point the way toward continuing progress in East-West academic dialogue and cooperation.

Professor Niklaus's volume, *The Eighteenth Century, 1715–1789,* falls within a less adventurous but still extremely challenging genre—the systematic, synthetic interpretation of an entire culture. The work may well impress one as being more successful than *Au siècles des Lumières.* At the same time, its several deficiencies become the more startling for their ignoring of pitfalls already well mapped by others. It is often a good book, but it could have been better.

At the outset one may note several technical features—a fairly useful index (largely restricted to personal names and specific literary works), an up-to-date bibliography, and what amounts to a ten-page bibliographical essay on certain recent approaches to the interpretation of the French Enlightenment. Unhappily the author's reading of these sources was not uniformly careful: I can at least speak authoritatively of my own *Historical Pessimism in the French Enlightenment* (1958), which, despite Niklaus's assertion, most emphatically does not see pessimism as "the main characteristic" of the age.

The Niklaus book opens with brief historical,

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social, and artistic surveys of the period; it continues with French poetry across the whole century and with sections on Lesage, Marivaux, and Prévost; it passes to the general philosophy of the Enlightenment and to separate chapters on Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and a miscellany of philosophes and other writers; it concludes with chapters on the theater, the novel, and the period in general. In view of the Enlightenment's complexities, the book's organization is serviceable, if uninspired.

As part of a multivolume *Literary History of France,* Niklaus's work of course supplements the more usual material of intellectual history with formal literary analysis; in fact, his cheerful willingness to combine formal literary considerations with a social and ideological study constitutes the main opportunity and challenge of the book. Sometimes the challenge is met successfully, with Niklaus not only integrating the two approaches but demonstrating authority in each. When balance is lost, it is usually to the detriment of ideas, not literature—as in a number of hasty, over-simplified assertions about the thought of Voltaire and Rousseau. At other times the synthesis breaks down completely, with social and ideological matters becoming quite divorced from literature; literature then is subjected to formal or esthetic analysis alone or reduced to extensive factual listings of authors and works. In the latter case, would not references to more specialized works have sufficed? Or when the author succumbs to the current fashion in general works for brief obeisance to music and the visual arts, could not their treatment have been better integrated with the rest and more carefully researched? What is gained by the one-and-a-half pages on music, largely unrelated to the book's other concerns and crammed with misinformation? Again, as in *Au siècle des Lumières,* and now more distressingly in a deliberately synthetic work, the problem remains that of achieving a satisfactory synthetic method. Sadly, Professor Niklaus is hardly unique among historians of words and ideas in falling short of total success in his mission.

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MICHEL ANTOINE. *Le Conseil du roi sous le règne de Louis XV.* (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, Number 19.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1970. Pp. xxx, 666. 55 fr. S.

In the historical literature on the Old Regime in France there occasionally appears a work that may justifiably be called definitive. Such a book is this study by the archivist-historian Michel Antoine concerning the royal council under Louis XV. Based on exhaustive research in the manuscript sources and on many preparatory studies, the book authoritatively treats all elements of its extensive subject. As Antoine admits, he has written old-fashioned institutional history of a type that is distinctly unpopular in France today, but he draws the lines of his research so broadly that his work gives valuable information concerning a host of matters, such as events and personalities, that a lesser treatment would have ignored.

A listing of the volume's contents is indispensable to indicate its richness. The introduction ably analyzes the official ideology of the French monarchy and its power structure, showing that although the royal council was merely consultative and had no meaning apart from the king, its function of counsel was essential to the system of government. Also, the various segments of the council—*Conseil d'En Haut, Conseil des Dépêches, Conseil royal des Finances, Conseil d'Etat privé* (or *des Parties*) and many lesser bodies—were in reality but specialized elements of the royal council whose essential unity was preserved. The system of councils in the eighteenth century, Antoine shows, dated from reforms during the early years of Louis XIV's personal reign and was not disturbed by the regent's experiment with *Polysynodie,* which was limited to collegial ministries and left the basic structure of councils and administration intact. The personnel of the councils is examined under two heads: those who were called because they enjoyed a certain dignity (councillors of state, ministers of state) and those who held high offices (first minister, chancellor, secretaries of state, controllers general of finance, intendants of finance, masters of requests). The last category is given particular attention, because this professional group formed the backbone of the sys tem. Antoine's treatment of them includes important elements of social history similar to, but not as extensive as, that in volume 1 of Roland Mousnier's *Lettres et mémoires adressées au chancelier Séguier* (Paris, 1964). The procedures and methods of functioning of the various

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councils are intricately analyzed, and special attention is given the increasing abuse of the fiction that all decisions were made in the king's presence whereas the growth of the bureaucracy, particularly in financial administration, allowed mere administrators to exercise this important function. Like the royal power itself, the competence of the royal council was comprehensive and included both administration and adjudication. This is illustrated by examining the decision-making process in both areas relative to a host of key issues that confronted the administration: the bull *Unigenitus,* royal finances, economic policy, noblemen's rights and status, and relations between the crown and such bodies as the Assembly of the Clergy, cities, communities, and universities and guilds. Anyone interested in any of these matters during the reign of Louis xv will do well to consult this volume. A further valuable section treats the frictions between the parlements and the royal council, explaining many technical points. The book concludes with a sympathetic picture of Louis xv consistently attempting to make the system of king and councils function but steadily losing ground to the growing administrative state.

All these matters are richly treated, with many new views and much information that may readily be located through the book's excellent index. Because of its topical and analytical approach to institutional history, many readers may view the book as treating the bare bones of history rather than its essence. Antoine, however, is unchallengable when he maintains that a knowledge of the structure, operations, and decision-making processes at the highest levels of government is essential to an understanding of the old monarchical system, which so extensively influenced the life of the realm. In this definitive treatment the book elucidates these matters as never before.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH
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RÉGINE ROBIN. *La société française en 1789: Sémur-en-Auxois.* (Civilisations et mentalités.) [Paris:] Plon. 1970. Pp. 522.

Some of Edward Kienholz' life size sculptures consist not of representations of objects but of the objects themselves, complete and plastic-sprayed into place. The idea seems to have spread into the making of books. Here it is. Open the cover, and there you find the historian's entire workshop: sources, methods, concepts, computations, false starts, data, hesitations, annotations, and maps. Everything, that is, but conclusions. As her dual title suggests, Mlle Robin undertakes not only to portray the character of one region of Burgundy at the end of the eighteenth century, but also to instruct others in the proper means and concepts with which to analyze the Old Regime in France as a whole. The book abounds in prefaces to prologomena, complete with stylish nouns like *problématique, dynamique, restructuration,* and *thématique.*

Mlle Robin treats two central themes: first, the character of the Old Regime bourgeoisie, both as concept and as social reality; secondly, the contents of the local *cahiers de doléances* of 1789. In both respects her argument is methodological rather than substantive. Nevertheless, she is so energetic and meticulous in describing such things as the libraries of the bourgeois of the region, the character of property holding, the vocabulary of the *cahiers,* and the wealth of different segments of the rural population that she has produced a valuable source book for the region of Sémur. Some of the asides (for example, on the close link between the notions of "citizen" and of "taxpayer" or on the regularity with which the *cahiers* treat the pair "king" and "nation" as countervailing, while they treat "king" and "people" as complementary) are fresh and thought-provoking. The book also includes 110 pages of well-edited, representative *cahiers* from the region.

Yet on the whole the reader has the feeling of threading his way through a French parlor cluttered with curiosities, lovingly assembled but curiosities nonetheless. The greatest curiosity is a method Mlle Robin devised for the analysis of the *cahiers;* it consisted of manipulating 7,148 tiles (black on one side, white on the other) on a large tabletop until they formed a "coherent" pattern. In fact she invented a crude analogue computer. Now, the same job could have been done much more easily, quickly, and precisely by electronic computer. One cannot be sure that even the easier procedure would have been worth it, however, since the only conclusion produced by the months of effort that must have gone into all the manipulation of tiles is that the *cahiers* in the immediate vicinities of the

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cities tended to favor the Third Estate. There are simpler ways to prove that. The same regret comes to the reader again and again: if only some argument, *any* argument, about what happened in eighteenth-century France would issue from all this energy, meticulousness, and ingenuity!

CHARLES TILLY
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EMMANUEL SIEYES. *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers état?* Critical edition with an introduction and notes by ROBERTO ZAPPERI. (Les classiques de la pensée politique, Number 6.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1970. Pp. 228.

Mr. Zapperi presents the reader with the third revised edition of this significant pamphlet. It was the edition preferred by Sieyès, the one best known to his contemporaries, and the only one available during most of the nineteenth century until the first edition was resurrected by Edmé Champion and Alphonse Aulard for the centenary of the French Revolution. Zapperi has made an exhaustive bibliographical study of the publications of the pamphlet and summarizes this information in the introduction. (The introduction and notes were translated from Italian into French by Marie-Bernadotte Girod.) Zapperi's notes on historical references in the pamphlet, however, are sometimes inadequate or inaccurate. The most valuable notes are those that indicate the variations between the different editions.

The introduction also contains a lengthy analysis of the thought of Sieyès and its significance. Based upon wide reading, though using only a portion of the new *fonds* Sieyès in the Archives Nationales, Zapperi essentially bolsters the revisionist interpretation of the French Revolution. He maintains that Sieyès was not the spokesman of an alleged bourgeois revolution against the aristocracy. The attributes of a class were nonexistent in the amalgam of categories of *roturiers*. The only aim of the Third Estate was to assure the political domination of the notables. Sieyès and the Constituants, rather than promoting the growth of capitalism, wished to preserve the existing precapitalist society by achieving juridical equality. The new state, liberated from its feudal heritage, was constructed on the foundation of the old society. Through the concept of the nation, Sieyès carried to completion the work of the absolute monarchy. He handed over to Bonaparte the heritage of Louis XIV. Zapperi's dislike of Sieyès as a person and a thinker parallels his depreciation of the French Revolution.

The editor's interpretations are weakened by preconceived theories and, at times, by oversimplification or exaggeration—for example, his refusal to recognize the existence of any capitalist features during the *ancien régime* and his glorification of Quesnay and Rousseau. Despite its flaws, the entire volume, the introduction as well as the pamphlet, should be read by all students of the Revolution.

JOSEPH I. SHULIM
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J. W. D. TRYTHALL. *El Caudillo: A Political Biography of Franco.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1970. Pp. 304. $7.95.

More than a dozen biographies of Franco have been published since 1938, most of them hagiographic. The recent phase of Franco biographies began in 1967 with the appearance of new full-length accounts by George Hills and Brian Crozier. Of the two, Crozier's was fuller and more clearsighted and objective, although moderately favorable to Franco. Crozier lacked a firm background in recent Spanish history; his book was somewhat rambling and devoted much of its length to a narrative of Franco's early career and the Civil War; nevertheless, it marked a distinct advance in such work. This was in turn followed in the next two years by several minor derivative accounts of Franco and the Civil War by other writers. Since no new sources have become available in the meantime, it was with a certain inner groaning that I received a copy of Mr. Trythall's new biography.

Such misgivings proved unfounded. Although, as Trythall admits, he has little or no new material to present, he has more than justified the publication of this new biography by providing the most lucid and penetrating treatment of Franco that has yet appeared. This is a triumph not of research but of analysis and exposition, and it is the more remarkable in view of the age of the author, who, according to the dust jacket, was twenty-six at the time of

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publication. The book is very compact for so long and complicated a topic, and it makes no effort to cover any single aspect of Franco's career in narrative detail. Its superiority lies in its perspective, balance, and objectivity. Franco's background and early years are gotten over very quickly; only eighty pages are used to reach the *jefatura del Estado*. Well over half the book is devoted to the post–Civil War period, and it is here that Trythall makes his main contribution. Raymond Carr, who directed this study in its dissertation form and wrote the foreword to the book, opines that "on the middle and later stages of Franco's career Mr. Trythall is excellent" (p. 10). This judgment is correct. The treatment of Franco's plans and attitudes on economic policy, though brief and somewhat fragmented, is the best that has been done, and it is interwoven with international and domestic politics to provide a balanced and compact narrative. The organization, as befits the biographical approach, is essentially chronological, though this precludes extended topical analysis.

Many scholarly historical studies are too long, padded with details of interest primarily to only a handful of specialists. This book, regrettably, is rather too concise. Franco's career is so long and complex that only a full-scale biography can give it optimum treatment. At this time it is not entirely clear whether a definitive biography will ever be possible. That will depend on materials available and the situation that ensues after the Caudillo's death. In the meantime Mr. Trythall has provided the most perspicacious synthesis to date of Franco's political career.

STANLEY G. PAYNE
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VIRGÍNIA RAU. *Estudos de história.* Volume 1, *Mercadores, mercadorias, pensamento económico.* (Colecção Presenças, Number 6.) [Lisbon:] Editorial Verbo. 1968. Pp. 283.

Meticulous scholarship by Professor Virgínia Rau has earned for her writings a prominent niche among the reference works that every scholar delving into early Portuguese economic history must consult. Without a doubt her fundamental studies and succinct analyses of Portuguese economic organizations have received wide acceptance in recent years. While many of her articles remain germane as documentary sources for current scholarship in the field, quite often copies of her works are difficult to obtain even in Portugal. Limited publication runs in foreign or regional Portuguese periodicals severely restrict their circulation. *Estudos de história* is an attempt partially to alleviate this situation. Here she selects and slightly updates six articles that are structured around a theme central to Portuguese medieval and early modern economic history—the major role of foreign merchants and their capital in shaping the commercial life and business techniques of this Iberian state.

Not the least of the benefits derived from this current compilation is the inclusion of the essential sources for each article, transcribed and entire in their original orthography. Two of these documents, Italian letters from Lisbon in 1399 written by the Florentine Bartolomeu Manni, provide scholars with valuable contemporary insight into Lisbon's growing importance as an economic entrepôt and illustrate the status of foreign merchants there during the early years of the Avis dynasty.

Commencing with these letters and an analysis of the role played by the Italian Lomellini family in the economic life of fifteenth-century Lisbon, Professor Rau then discusses at length the financial empires that Italian and German financiers directed either personally or through their representatives in Lisbon during the next two centuries. For the sixteenth century, she utilizes as her primary example Lucas Giraldi, a wealthy Florentine banker and resident merchant who rose to prominence under Manuel I. The last three essays of the collection are devoted to specialized studies on foreign shipping, general privileges accorded resident foreign merchants in Portugal, and the overall thrust of Portuguese economic thought during the sixteenth century. Professor Rau maintains a persistent thesis throughout her series of essays—a rejection of the view that Portugal drew upon Italian and German capital and expertise only to help generate its own native capitalism. Instead, her work supports and documents profusely Portugal's continued dependence upon foreigners for financial backing.

JOHN VOGT
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KARL-HEINZ SPIELER. *Untersuchungen zu Johann Gustav Droysens "Historik."* (Historische Forschungen, Number 3.) Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1970. Pp. 152. DM 28.60.

The subject of this monograph is Droysen's very considerable contribution to historical theory, not his historical writings as such or his role as founder of the so-called "Prussian school" of German historians. Of all the German historians of his generation, Droysen was the one most concerned with and knowledgeable about the philosophical presuppositions of historical study and what they contribute to the validity and value of the finished product. By his "Historik," the author means the way in which Droysen, the chief opponent of positivism among German historians of his day and a forerunner of Dilthey's intuitive approach to the past, conceived these presuppositions. What is a historical question, and how is it recognized and defined? What are the motives and objectives of historical study? What is the relationship between historical materials (which are only fragments of the past existing in the present), the historian's interpretation of them (which is inevitably governed to some extent by his own state of mind), and his ability by means of these materials to gain access to the real past (which is dead and gone)?

The originality and fecundity of Droysen's answers to these questions, which Spieler explores in detail, he shows by comparing them to the similar views developed subsequently by Windelband and Rickert, Simmel and Meinecke, and by Charles Sanders Peirce, Carl Becker, and others. The result is a worthwhile re-evaluation of a philosopher-historian who deserves more credit than he has been given thus far. The main defect of the book is that it contains no example of how Droysen or any other historian implemented, or might implement, his philosophical insights. If the theory and practice of history are as self-contained as the author, by default, seems to suggest, one wonders what real working relationship, if any, does, can, or ought to obtain between them.

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FRITZ SEIDENZAHL. *100 Jahre Deutsche Bank, 1870–1970.* Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Bank Aktiengesellschaft. 1970. Pp. xi, 459.

The development of banking in Germany lagged behind that of the rest of Western Europe. Economic growth was impeded before 1848 by the traditional tight-money policy of the conservative, Junker-dominated Prussian government. One result of the revolution of 1848, however, was a huge expansion of credit and banking during the 1850s, which began a wave of development that received further impetus in 1870 when the Deutsche Bank was founded.

Seidenzahl's account is based on the bank's own archive, but it lacks the usual scholarly apparatus. The volume is magnificently bound, printed, and illustrated, but it is obviously more of an anniversary volume than a serious economic history. Of crucial importance is the story of the bank's role in the establishment of the Baghdad Railroad, its participation in Villard's overextended Northern Pacific empire, and its absorption of smaller regional banks to establish its own giant enterprise. The policy of the Deutsche Bank was always international finance—founding companies, financing them, coordinating international capital for such development. Seidenzahl's account is sympathetic to the bank's policy. The bland German bankers were not interested in nationalism, the foreign office, or imperialist goals. The Turkish railway project would have been theirs regardless of Bismarck (who approved it after he was approached), and the Baghdad extension was equally a foregone conclusion despite Wilhelm II's urgings. The bankers frequently sought to combine their operations with those of British capital, which sometimes, but not always, joined in.

The author's treatment of events after 1914 is more guarded; one would have wished for more revelation. The role of the bank during World War I is not analyzed at all; Seidenzahl focuses always on the continuity of its international operations—it is interesting that these resumed as early as March 1919. Little is said about the inflation of 1923, which the bank survived with some loss of capital. The banking crisis of July 1931 proved more serious, but the Deutsche Bank was again least affected. How that crisis and the financial attitudes of both bankers and government contributed to the rise of Hitler—for his coup

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of January 1933 was, after all, engineered by Cologne banking interests—is not touched upon. The Hitler period brought increased state regulation and a stagnation of banking business, and most bankers were hostile to the Nazi regime. But the war brought new opportunities and expansion in the Balkans and a resumption of earlier interests in that region. Germany's defeat in 1945 led to the arrest of the bank's directors and a trust-busting operation by the Americans. Yet by 1957 the three successor banks had once more fused and the Deutsche Bank reappeared with headquarters in Frankfurt am Main. Its directors had held together, worked toward that end, resumed international financial operations (helped in this by the Adenauer government's willingness to pay the debts of former German governments), and by the 1960s had not only helped to finance the World Bank but had joined with Dutch, Belgian, and British interests to establish the European-American Banking Corporation in New York. The role of the Deutsche Bank in world affairs has been prominent and the recent stability of German currency so conspicuous that a more comprehensive study of its records ought to be encouraged.

HELEN P. LIEBEL
University of Alberta

FRITZ FISCHER. *Krieg der Illusionen: Die deutsche Politik von 1911 bis 1914*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1969. Pp. 805. DM 39.

Eight years after the appearance of *Griff nach der Weltmacht*, Professor Fischer presents another thought-provoking work of similar length and complexity. *Griff* had a sensational impact because it was primarily derived from unexplored German archival resources and because its unexpectedly sharp revisionary findings upset so many of the author's countrymen. *Krieg der Illusionen*, by contrast, covers more familiar ground. Archival resources are used of course, but they largely give elaboration and nuance to patterns already basically understood, or they tend to confirm what readers of *Griff* may have already anticipated. The shock impact should thus be minimal.

There is direct continuity, in backward progression, from the first book to the second. In effect *Krieg* is a massive expansion of the opening chapter of *Griff*. It enlarges and deepens earlier economic and sociological dimensions while continuing and strengthening the lines of political interpretation. A major opening section of *Krieg* analyzes the foundations of Wilhelmian Germany, drawing upon a wealth of evidence in depth from contemporary sources to explicate major sociological and psychological attitudes and objectives. Depth, yes—but breadth? There's the rub. Knowing the outcome of his narrative (in terms of *Griff*), has the author fallen victim to selective inattention as regards areas of evidence and the relative importance of different groups in Germany? Does he unfold a schema of historical predestination? There is a similar phenomenon of continuity concerning the actions and qualities of Bethmann-Hollweg. Was the German chancellor a Machiavellian manipulator of events, or was he a man somewhat incompetently wrestling with circumstances greater than his abilities to master or resolve them? Fischer explores the dimensions of German imperialism with considerable sophistication. But has he really made a solid case for an economic "crisis" in 1913–14 that accelerates and helps explain a singularly Germanic thrust toward war in 1914? Indeed, the author sharpens and firms up his somewhat more vague stance in the first book; he now indicates that between 1911 and 1914 the Germans decided they must have war, made pointed preparations for its early eventuality, and then chose the situation of 1914 to provoke hostilities on terms seemingly most favorable for them.

Fischer's prodigious effort in producing new documentation and evidence must evoke the interest and admiration of his readers. No less interesting, and possibly more debatable, are problems of methodology. Considering *Griff* and *Krieg* in tandem, some readers might query whether or not, in billiard terms, the author puts "English" on the thrust of his argument in the second book to underpin the findings of the first. Fischer's development of larger sociological dimensions in order to better comprehend the coming of the war is praiseworthy and overdue. Yet, considering the insights into the 1914

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crisis developed in recent years by social scientists like North, de Sola Pool, and Kessler, this aspect of Fischer's book seems curiously stereotyped and dated. In the longer run these questions, and others like them, probably cannot be satisfactorily tackled until other historians do similarly intensive work in unpublished sources and undertake comparable societal analyses of prewar and wartime developments in the other major European nations. And it will be largely thanks to Fischer's stimulus that such studies will be undertaken.

The author has demonstrated remarkable energy and resourcefulness in mobilizing documentation and argumentation as he unfolds the drama of these crucial years. Yet for me, the narrative moves too single-mindedly and pointedly toward its denouement. Little is left to chance in this extremely complex sociological and political pattern; there is no place for muddle, misunderstanding, or other human frailties. The study of history would seem to include a humanistic search for an understanding of human behavior, by individuals or groups, that recognizes how the on-going relationship of continuity and change results in new perceptions (or misperceptions). Such changing circumstances often reinforce earlier attitudes and responses, but sometimes they also alter them. This dimension of historical awareness, of taking human frailties and uncertainties into account, is largely missing from Fischer's otherwise notable work.

HENRY CORD MEYER
University of California, Irvine

ANNELISE THIMME. *Flucht in den Mythos: Die Deutschnationale Volkspartei und die Niederlage von 1918.* (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. 195. DM 7.80.

Annelise Thimme, the author of biographies of Hans Delbrück and Gustav Stresemann, has written a book that is both a broadly sketched history of the DNVP and, as in her Stresemann study, an effort to demythologize German history. The myths she analyzes and debunks were sometimes invented by the Nationalists and always propagated by them, but they had—and still have, according to the author—a wide acceptance. Not only the "national" middle class but the Social Democrats as well often accepted these myths as historic truths. Moreover, her accounts of the "war-guilt lie" (Article 231) and the facts of German reparations payments make it clear that some American textbook writers continue to transmit old propaganda. Other related myths include, of course, the "stab-in-the-back," the interpretation of the German Social Democrats as revolutionary and unpatriotic, Hindenburg, the "unity of 1914," and the notion that Germany was "enslaved" and "ruined" by the Treaty of Versailles. She skillfully employs the findings of social psychologists and historians in widely divergent fields in order to try to understand why the Nationalists preferred myths to facts, and why they were consumed with hatred toward the democratic republic. Often the ideals and programs of the DNVP were no more than a *Verdeckungsideologie* to screen its desire to retain a privileged society. Versailles and Bolshevism were attacked in order to destroy German democracy, for example. I found her sketches of the leaders of the party—Oskar Hergt, Kuno von Westarp, and Alfred Hugenberg—as a particularly revealing way of uncovering the various groups and values within the party. As a party history it is not intended to compete with the studies of Lewis Herztman and Werner Liebe, but it complements them admirably. And it is written with such grace and style and contains so many shrewd insights that it can be recommended highly to anyone, including Weimar specialists.

BRUCE B. FRYE
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PATRICIA H. LABALME. *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento.* (Uomini e dottrine, Number 13.) Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1969. Pp. xv, 354.

This useful study helps to correct the excessive emphasis of Italian Renaissance scholarship on the experience of Florence. It provides at once a detailed treatment of Bernardo Giustiniani (1408–89) and his achievements

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and a general introduction to Venetian humanism and political life in the fifteenth century. The author knows that the story of any Venetian patrician is largely the story of a family and its traditions, and she shows how, from his versatile and cultivated father Leonardo—a poet, musician, Petrarchan classicist, and close friend of Guarino—Bernardo acquired a love of ancient culture. Father and son both participated in the frustrating attempt to bring leading humanists permanently to Venice; and Bernardo himself learned Greek from Guarino, translated Isocrates, sponsored the printing of Valla's translation of the *Iliad,* and felt throughout his life the tension between learning and public affairs. As a diplomat he served Venice in a long series of missions to the imperial court, to France, to Naples, and to Rome. His eloquence made him particularly valued in this role, and his zeal for the crusade made him unusually acceptable, for a Venetian, to Pius II. Toward the end of his life his piety, his patriotism, and his classicism combined to mold his *History of the Origin of Venice,* notable not only as one of the earliest humanist histories of Venice but also for an idealization of the past that suggested a need for reform and therefore some uneasiness over the condition of contemporary Venice and Italy. The work also contains a remarkable expression of fifteenth-century concern with the problems of air and water pollution.

Labalme reviews all these matters with care and some subtlety, as in her analysis of the Christian sources of Giustiniani's occasional misreading of Isocrates. Her book has unfortunately been long in press, and hence it does not make use of some recent studies—for example, Gaetano Cozzi on Venetian historiography—that might have supplied a greater richness of context. Nor does it always strike a satisfactory balance between its occasionally undiscriminating biographical detail and its generalizations about the times. Yet much of what it has to say about Venetian humanism and the political problems of the time is quite the best treatment available in English.

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ROBERT S. LOPEZ. *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1970. Pp. 103. $6.00.

In this slim volume, which originated as three lectures at the University of Virginia, Robert Lopez presents an impressionistic panorama of the Italian Renaissance with wit, illuminating flashes of insight, and what seems at times deliberate wrong-headedness. Throughout he makes imaginative use of the time-honored anthropomorphic conception of a civilization as passing through the successive stages of organic growth. "It is pleasant to think [he writes] of the Italian Renaissance as a lovely creature, whose youth, maturity and old age should be defined within limits not exceeding too much the possible life span of a woman" (p. 7). The limits he proposes have "at least an uncontroversial political significance": for the youth of the Renaissance, the years 1454–94; for its maturity, 1494–1527; for its declining years, 1527–59. Those who feel that the initial date suggests an unduly retarded childhood or adolescence may—or may not—be disarmed by his proposal that we "let her be born, like Botticelli's Venus, full grown in her prime."

In a brief review it is impossible to comment on even the high points of this rapid survey, ranging as it does from economic trends, on which the author's opinions are well known, through the fields of literature, art, social manners, morals, and religion, on all of which he expresses opinions based about equally on wide acquaintance with the material and highly personal intiutions. It is in these latter fields particularly that he finds the attitudes appropriate to youth, maturity, and senescence—respectively a mood of confident expectation, a fluctuation between self-assurance and disenchantment, and, finally, despondence—each "in turn paramount during the three ages of the Renaissance within the chronological boundaries just traced" (p. 8). One can only add that this book is a delight to read, and that where one would argue with the author one can only hope that his own position might be stated with such disarming wit and epigrammatic precision.

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CHARLES D. TARLTON. *Fortune's Circle: A Biographical Interpretation of Niccolò Machiavelli.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. 159. $6.95.

This lively little volume by a political scientist at the State University of New York at Albany was obviously written for a popular audience rather than for specialists. It consists of a series of impressionistic essays, each dealing with the whole of Machiavelli's life from a different perspective: his role as public servant, his views about some of his famous contemporaries, the development of his attitude toward violence, his preoccupation with war and military affairs, the problem of conspiracy, and his relationship to women. The author, relying heavily on Ridolfi's classic biography, attempts to illuminate the Florentine's life through the extensive use of his writings, including the literary works and diplomatic reports.

Machiavelli emerges as a somewhat pathetic and tragic figure, a philosopher of Fortune who was also one of her chief victims, but who remained an ardent patriot, a dedicated republican committed to the principle of a good and just society, and a firm opponent of tyranny. On its own terms, perhaps the foremost weakness of the book is the emphasis upon *fortuna* to the detriment of *virtù*, a conception that is not specifically treated. Machiavelli's greatness is ultimately due not so much to his misfortunes in the years 1512 and 1513 as it is to his steadfast, courageous, and daring response to those adversities, in a word, to his *virtù*. At any rate, although by its very intent and nature Professor Tarlton's work contributes little to our historical understanding of Machiavelli or his theorizing, it is thought provoking in respect to his views on violence and conspiracy and the tantalizing subject of the relationship of women to politics in his life. What a pity that the author did not see fit to explore these topics in depth rather than merely to whet our appetite!

NEAL WOOD
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Nunziature di Napoli. Volume 2 *(24 maggio 1577–26 giugno 1587),* edited by PASQUALE VILLANI and DANILO VENERUSO; Volume 3 *(11 luglio 1587–21 settembre 1591),* edited by MARGHERITA BETTONI. (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Nunziature d'Italia, secoli XVI–XVIII.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1969; 1970. Pp. xvi, 492; xiii, 396. L. 5,500 each.

Pasquale Villani's "Origine e carattere della Nunziature di Napoli: 1523–1569" in the *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea,* volumes 9–10 (1957–58) whetted the appetite of students of Neapolitan history, but the first volume of the correspondence of the papal nuncios of Naples, edited by Villani and published by the Istituto Storico Italiano in 1962, provided a veritable feast. Two more volumes, the subjects of this review, came out recently with an even more invaluable treasury of documents.

The first volume covers a ten-year period, from May 24, 1577, to June 26, 1587, and the nunciatures of Lorenzo Campeggi, Fantino Petrignani, Silvio Savelli, and Giulio Rossini; the second covers a little over four years, from July 11, 1587, to September 21, 1591, and the nunciatures of Marcantonio Bizzoni, Alessandro Glorieri, and Germanico Malaspina. The Naples nunciature has always been an important one because of the kingdom's proximity to Rome and the papacy's special claims there, but it became a particularly delicate post in the closing years of the sixteenth century as the papacy began to reassert its claims not only in Naples but also in Sicily, where ecclesiastical governance had been taken over completely by the Spanish Crown. The so-called *Monarchia Siciliae* was an ecclesiastical tribunal erected by Spain that controlled every aspect of Church government in the name of the Crown, which claimed that it inherited the right from Count Roger of Sicily, who in turn had received it from Pope Urban II by a bull addressed to him and his successors on July 5, 1099. This was a gift of the pope for Roger's courageous defense of Sicily against the Saracens. The bull was discovered in 1513, and after its discovery the Spanish crown had a *de jure* claim for what it had been doing *de facto* since the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. As the Spanish kings were claiming complete authority over the Sicilian Church they refused

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even to receive a papal legate in Sicily. Thus the papacy was compelled to use the Naples nunciature to exert whatever influence it could over Church matters in Sicily.

The Church-state relationship was not peaceful in Naples either, for that matter. There were various points on which the viceroyalty of Naples and the Holy See were at odds. The instructions Lorenzo Campeggi received upon his commission as nuncio amply illustrate the nature of these differences: he was told that his duty was the "maintenance and defense of ecclesiastical jurisdiction . . . and the collection of all incomes and benefits from vacant sees." The exercise of these functions was not easy, as the viceroy's government often violated the ecclesiastical immunity and other privileges claimed by the Church; even more often it interfered with the collection of ecclesiastical taxes. Under these circumstances relations between the Holy See and the Spanish Crown deteriorated so much that both sides agreed to take some extraordinary steps in order to avert a major catastrophe. One such move was the appointment of Marquess d'Alcañizas in 1578 as special envoy of Phillip II to Gregory XIII. Thus an understanding was reached about Church-state relations in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and in the state of Milan. There was relative peace for a few years after that, and the correspondence of the nuncios with the papal secretaries of state dealt with only routine matters. But the climate changed again when the impulsive viceroy the Duke of Ossuna and the rigid Sixtus V clashed wits. Nuncio Giulio Rossini, who was also archbishop of Amalfi, was pressed between the financial interests of his local fellow ecclesiastics and the demands of Sixtus V, who ordered strict collection of the papal dues. For a time Sixtus appointed an apostolic commissioner of tax collection in Naples, but that practice ended in a debacle, as neither the nuncios and local churchmen nor the viceroys liked the idea.

The 769 letters that comprise these two volumes deal with everything from the problem of bandits along the borders of Naples and the Papal States and the scandals in convents to the Spanish Armada and the canonization of saints. They provide invaluable insight into the nature of European diplomacy at a critical period in modern history.

In 1591, where the second volume brings us, relations between the papacy and the viceroyalty were calm, if not friendly. But an explosive situation soon developed when Clement VIII pressed the issue of the *Monarchia Siciliae,* and his confessor Caesar Baronius opened the question for public debate by the publication of his *Tractatus de Monarchia Siciliae.* But for details of those events we will have to wait until future volumes appear.

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PETER F. SUGAR and IVO J. LEDERER, editors. *Nationalism in Eastern Europe.* (Far Eastern and Russian Institute. Publications on Russia and Eastern Europe, Number 1.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 465. $15.00.

Despite its title and the overall introduction by Peter F. Sugar, the present work is not so much an analysis of nationalism in its East European setting as it is a series of brief political histories that focus on the national element. The eight histories are of unequal length, running from twenty-three pages on Romania to seventy-three on Bulgaria, and are ordered alphabetically. While the Slovaks are granted separate, if scanty, treatment within the chapter on Czechoslovakia, as much cannot be said for the Slavo-Macedonians, the Montenegrins, or the Serbo-Croatian-speaking Moslems.

Seven of the eight histories share an apologetic patina. Much attention is devoted to the career of Adamantios Koraes, for example, but there is no reference to his invention of Katharevousa. The key role played by the issue of the confines in producing the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 is passed over in virtual silence. There is only indirect reference to the annexation by Horthy's Hungary of northern Transylvania, Ruthenia, and southern Slovakia. The exception to the apologetic rule is provided by Stephen Fischer-Galaţi, who argues that the greater Romanian idea, combined with anti-Semitism, gave to Romanian nationalism a diversionary func-

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tion with respect to the problem of social reform, as well as making it a useful platform for political and bureaucratic careers. Even the Ceauşescu regime, Fischer avers, has not yet affected any basic change in this formula.

The weight of the presentations falls on the nineteenth century. Nationalism in its relationship to the Communist ideology, a central interpretive problem of our time, gets meager and not very helpful attention. Bela Kun earns passing mention without any suggestion that his regime constituted a plea for Bolshevik help in retaining the frontiers of St. Stephen's sacred kingdom. The short summary of the Romanian national deviation carries no reference to the issue of industrialization, across-the-board or otherwise.

There is also some failure to make use of more recent materials. Karl W. Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Enquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (1953) is relegated to a footnote, although many political scientists regard it as fundamental. Certainly our authors pay little heed to the phenomenon of urban migration, which Deutsch contends is central to the emergence of national consciousness on a mass basis. This would have been especially true in Eastern Europe, where cities were often multinational at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The author of the chapter on Albania died before the appearance of Stavro Skendi's *Albanian National Awakening 1878–1912* (1967). Nor is any use made of the public opinion polls now becoming available, such as the rather sophisticated *sondages* of the Belgrade Institute of Social Sciences on the national attitudes of the Yugoslav population (for example, Firdus Dzinić, ed., *Yugoslav Public Opinion Concerning Current Political and Social Questions* [1964]).

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to conclude that *Nationalism in Eastern Europe* is not a useful book. Seven of its nine authors were born and reared in the area and another has resided extensively there. The authors have, consequently, a native command of languages and cultures, knowledge that gives their common work great and undeniable strengths. They provide a rich bibliography of secondary sources in the area languages. They summarize and epitomize these works, thus making their corpus available to all those who do not read the languages in question. And they often place already familiar trends, events, and personalities in a new and more meaningful light. A good example is Ivo J. Lederer's presentation of the privileges granted to the refugee Serbs by Leopold II in 1690 as a transfer to Austrian circumstances of the Turkish conception of the *millet*. Another, and better, is George Barany's treatment of forcible Magyarization as a fear reaction of the Hungarian gentry—fear of the national feeling emerging among their non-Magyar peasantry and fear of pan-Slavism and pan-Germanism as well.

Nationalism in Eastern Europe is the first in a series of publications on Russia and Eastern Europe projected by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington. It represents a promising beginning.

R. V. BURKS
Wayne State University

LOVETT F. EDWARDS, edited and translated from the Serbian by. *The Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xlvii, 227. $7.00.

The archpriest Matija Nenadović was one of the leading participants in the "first Serbian insurrection" of 1804–13 against Turkish maladministration. The translation of his memoirs and diary of his transactions during the Congress of Vienna should therefore render service to nonspecialists with an interest in wars of independence or in the Napoleonic era in an offbeat part of Europe.

The translator provides a useful introduction. Readers should be warned, however, against his over-simple view of the origins of the insurrection, namely, that it was started by the district headmen, priests, and merchants, and originally lacked a popular basis. For other views, the nonspecialist may consult Stojan Novaković's old study of this subject (in German), Dimitrije Djordjević's *Révolutions nationales des peuples balkaniques 1804–1914* (1965), and an article by Wayne S. Vucinich entitled "Marxian Interpretations of the first Serbian Revolution" (*Journal of Central European Affairs*, 21 [1961]: 3–14).

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Cultural historians may focus their attention on other matters: how Nenadović learned to read and write, or how he and other Serbians were influenced by their experience in the neighboring Habsburg province of Srem (acculturation) to undertake the establishment of order in the tumultuous Serbian churches. They may note also his reference to the factors persuading peasants to choose a particular site as a place of settlement: the repeated bellowing of cattle (a sign of good pastures) or the presence of a swarm of bees (promise of beeswax and honey).

There is even material for the psychoanalyst. For example, thirteen pages of the memoirs (pp. 141-53) concern "a trifle, a dream." One night Nenadović dreamt that his head had been cut off (not an unusual occurrence then) and that he was carrying it in his hands. Stupefied, he tried to restore it to its proper place. Nenadović later interpreted this dream as an omen of his temporary captivity by the Moslems of Bosnia.

But what is the meaning of this dismemberment of the body, followed by its re-membermement? What relationship does it bear to rites of death and resurrection, to Balkan creation myths? How much do dreams reflect culture?

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH
Rutgers University

IU. A. PISAREV. *Serbiia i Chernogoriia v pervoi mirovoi voine* [Serbia and Montenegro in World War I]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 375.

Yury Pisarev's new book, a sequel to his study of the Habsburg Yugoslavs before the First World War, may frustrate some readers sufficiently to cause them to dismiss it as a failure. One naturally turns with considerable anticipation to the work of a scholar who has had access to the archives of Eastern Europe, but the first reaction to this particular book may well be one of disappointment. Pisarev reveals nothing new concerning the roles of the Russian and Serbian governments in the events of June–August 1914. He has not illuminated any of the mysteries surrounding the Black Hand and has presented only the most cursory account of its lesser known opponent, the White Hand. His discussion of the famous "Salonika trial" is based strictly upon published sources; his comments on the influence of the Russian Revolutions of 1917 upon the antiwar and socialist movements in Serbia and Montenegro does not rise above the ideological cliché.

This failure to solve any of the enigma variations of the Balkan front is disappointing, but it may not be entirely Mr. Pisarev's fault, and in any case it should not be allowed to obscure the positive features of his book. That which we think is in the archives and that which is actually there may not be the same thing.

Mr. Pisarev gives a full account of the widespread opposition in Serbia to Pašić. His severe indictment of the Allies for their cynical exploitation of Serbian cannon fodder is well documented. War profiteering in Serbia, an obscure but not unimportant topic, is discussed extensively. The jockeying for postwar position by the Serbian government, the Montenegrin king, and the Yugoslav Committee—with Great Britain, France, and Italy each taking a different side—is analyzed at length and to good purpose.

Based largely upon Yugoslav and Soviet archival sources and published accounts, Pisarev's book provides a fairly comprehensive account of the war years in the western Balkans. It includes a historiographical essay, bibliography, and index—accoutrements not always found in Soviet historical studies.

WOODFORD D. MCCLELLAN
University of Virginia

BOGDAN C. NOVAK. *Trieste, 1941–1954: The Ethnic, Political, and Ideological Struggle.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 526. $16.50.

When I traveled through Yugoslavia in the 1950s, I saw inscriptions on the walls of remote Montenegrin towns: "We give our lives, but we won't give Trieste," attesting to the emotional feelings of Yugoslavs for that city. Border regions are usually storm centers where tempers run short. The mixed Slovene-, Croat-, and Italian-populated Julian Region (roughly Trieste, Istria, and the Slovenian Littoral) has had a particularly storm-tossed history. Professor Bogdan Novak of Toledo University,

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a former Slovene resident of the area, has written a painstaking and discriminating study of the contemporary Trieste problem with an insight and immediacy gained from personal experience.

The history of the Julian Region falls into four distinct phases: Italian domination after World War I; Yugoslav ascendancy from 1944 to 1948; expanding crisis and growing Italian assertiveness in the 1950s; and the final settlement of 1954. After 1918 the Italians annexed the region and subjected the Slavic population to repression and Italianization, leaving behind a legacy of hatred for Italy. When the Axis collapsed, the tables were turned and Yugoslav Partisans occupied Trieste for several tense weeks in May and June 1945 until Field Marshal Alexander's ultimatum forced Tito to withdraw his troops and to accept a division of the area along the Morgan line. Anglo-American forces occupied Zone A, encompassing Trieste, and Yugoslavia received Zone B, the sparsely settled Slavic hinterland. After the Italian peace treaty, the region was internationalized as the Free Territory of Trieste, but the zonal divisions remained fixed. Thereafter, it became a political football of the cold war.

Italian and Yugoslav Communists in the Julian Region, under orders from Moscow, buried national antagonisms and supported annexation to Yugoslavia, while the Italian Communist party pursued a more national line in Italy. This feat of legerdemain ended after the schism of 1948, when Titoists and Cominformists fell out. Cold war imperatives increasingly led the Western Powers to support Italy's annexation of Zone A, but Belgrade's bargaining power rose after Yugoslavia indirectly became a member of the NATO Pact through its alliance with Greece and Turkey. After some particularly ugly rioting by Italian nationalists in 1953—stirred up, according to Novak, by the Pella government—the Western Powers conducted negotiations in earnest. The final settlement assigned Trieste and Zone A to Italy and Zone B to Yugoslavia, with minor territorial rectifications.

On the whole the author is judiciously fair. Graphic descriptions of elections, demonstrations, and riots offset and nicely balance the factual details and prevent the story from falling into an over-fastidious scholasticism. The author is to be commended for writing what will probably be the definitive study of the subject.

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JOZO TOMASEVICH *et al. Contemporary Yugoslavia: Twenty Years of Socialist Experiment.* Edited by WAYNE S. VUCINICH. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 441. $9.50.

This volume, a by-product—according to the preface—of a conference of American scholars that met at Stanford University in December 1965, provides a stimulating account of developments in Communist Yugoslavia.

The editor, Wayne S. Vucinich of Stanford University, and his six collaborators add up to a staff of outstanding specialists, each contributor a qualified and recognized expert in his field. They combine their talents to produce a work that is sound, authoritative, well researched, and remarkably readable. Though it is not devoid of some of the earmarks of a product designed for use as a textbook, it is free of the rigidities, verbosities, and pedanticisms that stifle so many texts.

Professor Vucinich sets the scholarly pace for his collaborators with his high-level, dispassionate treatment of Yugoslav history in the interwar years. Though of Serb extraction himself, he has no inhibitions about pointing out the flaws, weaknesses, and shortcomings of the Serbians. He especially takes to task the Serb political leaders for their discriminations against the other ethnic groups in the country. Wisely, he weaves into his narrative the pertinent details of the evolution of the Yugoslav Communist party, thus setting the stage for the era of Tito. Too many works dealing with monarchial Yugoslavia neglect Communism until the emergence of Tito, who then bursts upon the scene like some mysterious comet from outer space.

The story of Yugoslavia during the Second World War is the most complex in the history of that nation in modern times. None but the brave and brilliant would tackle such an intricate narrative. Jozo Tomasevich definitely

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belongs in those ranks for his superb analysis and description of the physical and political wars, the ethnic animosities, and the parties, factions, and personalities striving for dominance in this Yugoslav episode of the "Time of Troubles." If this abbreviated account by Professor Tomasevich is any indication of what will be found in his forthcoming comprehensive work on the same subject, I shall await its publication with eager anticipation.

Another of the more fascinating chapters in the book is that by Professor George Macesich on major trends in the postwar economy. Dealing with the difficult subject of socialist economics and with the adjustments of theory and practice in a predominantly agricultural environment, Professor Macesich does an extraordinary job in clarifying procedures and developments. He leaves, however, a rather glaring gap in his otherwise comprehensive treatment through his omission of any reference to tourism. This economic activity has had a tremendous impact upon every facet of life in Yugoslavia. Each year the number of tourists has continued to increase so that by 1970 over twenty million foreigners visited the country and enriched its treasury by some two hundred million dollars. This addition to their exchequer has not escaped the attention of the Yugoslav budget officials, and it should not go unnoticed by serious foreign observers of Yugoslav economic trends.

Space does not permit a separate evaluation of each of the remaining essays in the volume. It can, however, be said in summary that they all constitute significant contributions, adding a valuable new fund of knowledge on Yugoslavia's external relations, the nationality problems, the fate of Marxism, and social adjustments under the impact of industrialization.

Though the editor has done exceedingly well in integrating the diverse topics and varied literary styles to produce a remarkably cohesive account, he has been remiss at times in failing to reduce judiciously the amount of overlapping material. The repetitiousness is particularly in evidence in chapters 2 and 3. More careful editing could have eliminated some of the twice-told tales.

My quarrel is not merely with that which has been said twice or thrice but also with that which has been left unsaid. It is more than a little surprising that the various aspects of cultural life are ignored. Religion, education, literature, and the arts have played too important a role in the development of the Yugoslavs not to receive their fair share of attention in a volume of such breadth and scholarly caliber as this one.

GERALD GILBERT GOVORCHIN
University of Miami

IVAN N. UNDZHIEV. *Vasil Levski: Biografiia.* (Bulgarska Akademiia na Naukite, Institut za Istoriia.) Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite. 1967. Pp. 386. 2.30 L.

Vasil Levski (1837–73) was a Bulgarian ex-priest and revolutionist who first joined the Bulgarian Legion of Georgi Rakovski in Belgrade, then organized an important anti-Turkish underground movement inside Bulgaria, and finally fell into the hands of the Turks, who executed him. Undzhiev's study of this revered martyr to the cause of Bulgarian freedom is mainly of interest in the context of Balkan diplomatic and revolutionary history during the 1860s. In it will be found much that is new concerning the background of the Balkan crisis of 1875–78, especially as seen from the vantage point of Russian, Serbian, and Romanian relations with Bulgarian national leaders. There is a convenient résumé in French at the end of this study for those who do not read Bulgarian. A more sophisticated conceptual framework than that provided by vulgar Marxism and by old-fashioned Bulgarian nationalism would have been most welcome in this work, however.

EDWARD C. THADEN
University of Illinois

SIMEON DAMIANOV. *Frantsiia i Bulgarskata Natsionalna Revoliutsiia* [France and the Bulgarian National Revolution]. (Bulgarska Akademiia na Naukite, Institut za Istoriia.) Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite. 1968. Pp. 258. 2.86 L.

KHRISTO KHRISTOV. *Osvobozhdenieto na Bulgariia i Politikata na Zapadnite Durzhavi 1876–1878* [The Liberation of Bulgaria and the Policy of the Western Powers 1876–1878]. (Bulgarska Akademiia na Naukite, Institut za Istoriia.)

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Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite. 1968. Pp. 256. 3.29 L.

Simeon Damianov and Khristo Khristov have written two useful interpretations of the Great Powers' Eastern policies during the Balkan crisis of 1875–78. Both authors have devoted extensive care and research to their topics and have made important contributions to the Bulgarian literature on the crisis.

Damianov has worked extensively in French and Bulgarian archives and consulted a wide range of secondary sources to explain the formation and impact of France's foreign policy on his country's liberation movement. In surveying the reaction in Paris to Bulgaria's struggle for independence in the nineteenth century the author adds much valuable information on both French policy and local activities. He emphasizes the heavy infiltration of French economic interests into the Ottoman Empire in the century before the crisis as the decisive factor in determining the posture of France toward the Balkans. The flag followed business, even though the policies that resulted often went against the Bulgarians' interests and the sentiments of progressive French society.

Khristov has employed a broader range of archival and secondary sources to produce his uniquely Bulgarian view of the Western Powers' policies during the Balkan crisis. From the first he affirms the active role of the Bulgarians in their own defense, praises the aid given by the Russians, and criticizes foreign historians who portray his countrymen as having been mere Russian puppets. The author gives an interesting and detailed account of the events surrounding the Constantinople Conference and very competent descriptions of the Russo-Turkish War, the San Stefano Treaty, and the Berlin Congress.

Damianov makes the greater contribution. He has written a generally perceptive account of a closely defined topic. Unlike Khristov, whose book must be judged against a century of work by Europe's best diplomatic historians, Damianov has followed the monographer's prerogative of staking out a narrow area and mastering it. Aside from the Bulgarian perspective he brings to his subject, Khristov adds comparatively little to the international literature of this, the most thoroughly investigated chapter of the Eastern Question. Given the nationalistic and political pressures under which they worked, both authors have performed well.

GEORGE F. JEWSBURY
Oklahoma State University

ALEXANDRU DUȚU. *Coordonate ale Culturii Românești in Secolul XVIII (1700–1821): Studii și Texte* [Coordinates of Romanian Culture in the 18th Century (1700–1821): Studies and Texts]. Bucharest: Editura Pentru Literatură. 1968. Pp. 397. Lei 14.

The eighteenth century in the Danubian Principalities, the age of the Phanariots, has recently become a popular subject for investigation and reinterpretation by the new generation of historians in Romania. The cult of the national past, with which official encouragement has had an almost romantic rebirth, may be one reason for it. This period, which combined the influence of the European Enlightenment and the first stirrings of a national literature with a system of corrupt, oppressive, and alien rule, continues to be as fascinating as it was for an earlier generation of Romanian historians.

One major controversial question concerns the nature of the regimes, and a good deal of evidence has been brought forward by Romanian historians beginning with Iorga, and by Greek scholars too, to show that the record was by no means all black. Indeed, the Phanariot princes themselves helped to spread Western ideas, though wary of subversive ones, and were not impervious to the inequities of the societies over which they ruled. A second question concerns the development of Romanian culture during this period. Alexandru Duțu has collected here a number of passages from books and from unpublished documents and manuscripts (many of them not printed at the time because of censorship), to which he adds extensive commentary, notes, and essays of his own. What emerges is a strengthened case for the thesis that literary and other cultural influences from outside combined with more traditional currents to create a notable "enlightenment" in the Romanian lands, and in effect the beginnings of a modern Romanian literature, which appeared and circulated in Transylvania as well

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as in the two principalities. The more celebrated and more thoroughly studied Latinist movement in Transylvania was not alone in initiating the Romanian renaissance.

In his conclusions the author probably claims too much for the totality of this cultural development as anticipating and inspiring the nationalism of the nineteenth century, but there is no denying the impressive research that he and his colleagues, with a wide knowledge of the general European background, have done in this book and in other recent publications. Study of the neglected age of the Phanariots has come a long way since Pompiliu Eliade's pioneering work on the subject appeared over seventy years ago.

JOHN C. CAMPBELL
Council on Foreign Relations

I. D. SUCIU. *Revoluţia de la 1848–1849 în Banat* [The Revolution of 1848–1849 in the Banat]. (Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga," Biblioteca Istorică, Number 15.) [Bucharest:] Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1968. Pp. 274. Lei 19.

This volume is the first comprehensive account of the revolution of 1848 in that part of old Hungary where three peoples—Magyars, Romanians, and Serbs—contended for liberal reform and national self-determination. As there was little agreement among them, the course of events was exceedingly complex and even tragic, when we consider that their own mutual hostility in large measure thwarted their individual aspirations. I. D. Suciu has brought to the task of analyzing these events a broad knowledge of the history of the Banat and the results of an intensive examination of unpublished documents and published specialized studies.

The first two chapters of his book survey the literature on the subject, and the third summarizes the history of the Banat before 1848. The rest of the volume traces the development of the Romanian national movement from the beginnings of revolutionary ferment in the spring of 1848 to the surrender of the Hungarian armies in August 1849 and the subsequent suppression of Romanian nationalist and liberal activities. The author emphasizes throughout that the character of the Romanian movement was determined by conditions peculiar to the Banat and that it was not dependent upon the Hungarian national movement. This is largely true, but it is also evident that many Romanian and Magyar leaders had similar goals—emancipation from Austrian domination and liberal reform—and worked diligently to bring about an understanding between their peoples. Suciu's lengthy account of the ideas and activities of Eftimie Murgu, the political leader of the Romanians, shows how real the possibility of a Romanian-Magyar rapprochement was. The Romanians seem to have regarded Serbian domination of the Orthodox Church and their cultural life generally as a more immediate threat to their national existence than was the political consolidation of Hungary by the Magyars. It is clear, nonetheless, that they would not have been satisfied without some sort of autonomy in the new liberal Hungary.

The author examines a number of questions that not only help to elucidate events in the Banat but at the same time broaden our understanding of 1848 in Central Europe as a whole—the relationship of Magyar liberalism to the national movements in Hungary; the attitudes of the non-Magyar nationalities to one another; and the role of the church in national movements. Suciu also gives particular attention to the cooperation among the Romanians in the Banat, Transylvania, and the Principalities in achieving political unity, and he presents important new evidence concerning a Romanian-Magyar-Polish alliance in the spring of 1849 under General Joseph Bem. To what extent, however, the Romanians actually thought political unity was feasible in 1848 remains a moot question.

The reader, then, has before him a wealth of information, but he will have to provide his own historical framework. He will also have to draw his own conclusions, since the author abruptly terminates his narrative with the onset of the reaction in the fall of 1849.

KEITH HITCHINS
University of Illinois, Urbana

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAŢI. *Twentieth Century Rumania.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 248. $7.95.

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This thoughtful work by an accomplished student of Romanian history is addressed to one central question: whether "the Rumanian historic tradition is compatible with the present communist order, whether the communists' claims are justified in terms of Rumania's historic experience in the twentieth century." Such a question might be thought to be productive only of angry denials or dogmatic affirmations, but in Mr. Fischer-Galaţi's hands it provides a remarkably effective unifying theme for a dispassionate review of recent Romanian history.

He takes as his starting point—the historic legacy—Greater Romania as it emerged from the First World War: a vastly enlarged country, full of promise and of latent disaster. He skillfully reviews the successive phases of the interwar years with their mingling of oligarchy, democracy, royal authoritarianism, and fascism. His approach is critical but fair-minded, and he brings out most effectively the political, social, economic, and national perplexities that composed the legacy.

The core of the book, however, deals with the quarter-century following August 23, 1944. In these years, as his chapter titles indicate, he discerns a major cyclical movement: a short period of uncertain crisis leading to March 5, 1945, when the Communists came to effective power; a loss of national identity in the course of the next three years; an outright abandonment of the national legacy between 1948 and 1952 when Romania became a Stalinist, Sovietized satellite; then, with Stalin's death, a cautious partial reclamation of the national legacy under the aegis of social patriotism, advancing in the early 1960s to a position of national Communism; and finally under the leadership of Ceausescu, a real effort to restate the legacy within the frame of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Many of the facts in this absorbing evolution are still uncertain, and one of the most gratifying features of the book is the author's willingness to indicate the uncharted areas and to offer the various interpretations that have been advanced to explain the intricate course of events. The still unfathomed but incredibly durable figure of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (a Stalinist, but a Romanian rather than a "Muscovite") is clearly seen as the key figure in the crucial shift in the late 1950s and early 1960s: Ceausescu built upon, while castigating, the works of his predecessor.

In a word this is a most rewarding inquiry into an important strand of Communist and East European history.

HENRY L. ROBERTS
Rochester, Vermont

MIRON CONSTANTINESCU. *Études d'histoire transylvaine*. (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Number 24.) Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1970. Pp. 186. Lei 7.25.

When the British electorate sacked Churchill in 1945 he—the enviable stylist—produced his monumental *The Second World War*. If all intellectuals-turned-politicians could be assured of such a fate then perhaps the latter profession would attract more scholars. Such is the case of Miron Constantinescu, purged in 1957, who had been a member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist party, the boss of *Scinteia* (the party newspaper), head of the state planning commission, deputy premier, and minister of mining and petroleum. His dismissal from the party is another story; his scholarly activities since the purge are partially represented by the publication of this anthology of his articles issued between 1964 and 1969. Since 1957 Constantinescu has been associated with the section of historical sciences of the Romanian Academy and has apparently devoted his attention to the question of Transylvanian historiography rather than that of Muntenia in the Old Kingdom where he was born into a bourgeois family in 1917. This slim volume, commemorating the semicentennial of Romania's acquisition of Transylvania and the Bánát of Temesvar from Hungary, is nevertheless replete with the standard Romanian-Marxian interpretation that attributes the acquisitions to the masses and not to the equally substantial efforts of the Allied Army of the Orient, to the advance of the Romanian army—whose government re-entered the war on November 10,

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1918, or to the diplomatic skill of Ionel Brătianu. Among the topics Constantinescu considers are the national and social struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians, a brief survey of the ideological currents in Transylvania prior to the war, new sources regarding the union, the actual declaration of union at Alba Iulia on December 1, 1918 (the legitimacy of which is contested in the non-Communist community), and Romania's uncontested right to the region. One glimmer of hope emanates from this anthology—an apparent inclination of the "thaw school" of Romania's current historians to reconstruct the historical reconstructionism of the dogmatic 1950s. Some of the former antiheroes now emerge as lesser villains.

SHERMAN D. SPECTOR
Russell Sage College

HENRYK ZINS. *Anglia a Bałtyk w Drugiej Połowie XVI Wieku: Bałtycki Handel Kupców Angielskich z Polska w Epoce Elżbietańskiej i Kompania Wschodnia* [England and the Baltic Sea in the Second Half of the 16th Century: The Baltic Trade of the English Merchants with Poland in the Elizabethan Age and the Eastern Company]. (Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Prace Wydziału Humanistycznego. Monografie, Number 1.) Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 363. Zł 70.

After thoroughly studying in London and publishing four preparatory articles, this young Polish historian has made in his first book a substantial contribution toward a better understanding of the problem specified in the subtitle. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the development of English trade with Poland under Queen Elizabeth than the seventy statistical tables in the two longest chapters that give the figures of England's Baltic exports and imports. Equally imposing is the list of manuscripts consulted in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and lesser-known London archives, as well as the bibliography of works, old and new, in almost all European languages.

This well-deserved praise, however, requires qualification. The author's painstaking labor has been done exclusively in the economic field and therefore does not correspond to the main title of his book. Zins admits that he purposefully allocated little space to political background, but his justification is unconvincing, especially as far as Poland is concerned. In the introductory chapter he fails to explain how Poland's recovery of the Baltic coast in 1466 made the trade with Danzig no longer dependent on the relations with the Teutonic Order but on those with the Polish kings. The first Northern War from 1563 to 1570, leading to the international congress of Stettin, is dismissed in one superficial page, Zins taking it wrongly for granted that no controversial questions are left. And while some political changes in Europe are exceptionally well considered on the pages explaining the creation of the Eastern Company in 1579, the reader is not told that King Stefan Batory was then engaged in a war with Ivan the Terrible, who eventually had to give up his conquests in Livonia and Estonia. To protect the commonwealth he had established in 1569 it was necessary for Sigismund Augustus to defend the Lithuanian part of its Livonian acquisitions, including the port of Riga, against the aggressions of Moscow. This defense motivated the blockade of the Narva navigation, a policy that displeased England. And so did the pro-Habsburg policy initiated by Sigismund III at the end of the century.

Such shortcomings in the author's otherwise remarkable presentation could have been avoided if he had investigated in Poland not only the local archives of Danzig and Elbląg, cities whose merchants, like the English, put trade first, but also the central archives of the kingdom. He should have consulted more than two volumes of the new series *Elementa ad fontium editiones,* which is being published by the Polish Historical Institute of Rome, paying particular attention to those volumes that contain documents found in Copenhagen and Simancas. In addition, the historiography of the three Baltic republics during their short period of freedom should not have been overlooked.

These remarks and suggestions ought not to detract from the value of what Zins has given us in his limited but nevertheless important field of interest. Many readers who

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enjoy the twelve well-chosen pictures in his book and whose curiosity is stimulated by its detailed summary in English would welcome a translation of the whole volume.

OSCAR HALECKI
White Plains, New York

STANISŁAW KUBIAK. *Niemcy a Wielkopolska, 1918–1919* [Germany and Greater Poland, 1918–1919]. (Dzieje Polskiej Granicy Zachodniej, Number 4.) Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1969. Pp. 303. Zł. 50.

WŁODZIMIERZ JASTRZĘBSKI. *Hitlerowskie Wysiedlenia z Ziem Polskich Wcielonych do Rzeszy, 1939–1945* [Nazi Deportations from the Polish Territories Incorporated into the *Reich*, 1939–1945]. (Badania nad Okupacją Niemiecką w Polsce, Number 9.) Poznań: Instytut Bachodni. 1968. Pp. 142. Zł. 25.

These two modest-sized paperback volumes have two features in common: both have been published by the well-known Western Institute (Instytut Zachodni) in Poznań, and both deal with German-Polish relations. The Western Institute is Poland's answer to the various *Ostinstitute* that have had a long tradition in Germany. Conceived at a secret meeting of Polish scholars in a town near Warsaw in December 1944, when the Second World War was drawing to a close, the institute was formally organized in 1945 and has since become Poland's chief publishing and research center in the field of German studies. Its principal concern is German-Polish relations in modern history, but it also pays vigorous attention to developments in the present Federal Republic of Germany, to relations between Germany and Eastern Europe in general, and even to problems of Western European integration.

The subject of Kubiak's volume is German policy toward the province of Poznań in 1918–19. This province, with its capital bearing the same name, had belonged to Prussia until 1918, and at the time of the collapse of the Central Powers at the end of World War I it became a bone of contention between Germany and the new Poland. The Poles staged an insurrection there in December 1918–January 1919, hoping to rend the province from Germany and to present the Paris Peace Conference with a fait accompli. Kubiak probes the policies of German authorities toward Poznań and examines also the attitude of the German minority in the province. Not surprisingly, he finds that members of this minority, whatever their social position, solidly opposed the separation of the province from Germany and that even the revolutionary German Soviets in this area rallied to the German flag. A few brave German Social Democrats tried to resist the trend for a time but could not prevail. The German Communists likewise opposed any separation of Poznań from Germany, hiding conveniently behind the notion that the first task for Communists was the overthrow of the capitalist system. The significance of this volume is that it demonstrates the strength of nationalist sentiment in Central Europe in 1918, sentiment against which the forces of "proletarian internationalism" could not assert themselves. Those forces proved no stronger thirty years later when workers, peasants, and counts clad in German uniforms fell upon the workers, peasants, and counts of Poland, plunging the country into an inferno of Nazi terror. Jastrzębski, in his volume, addresses himself to the less known aspect of this terror, the mass deportation of Poles from the western regions of German-occupied Poland. He describes the different methods used to carry out the deportations in different districts and places the total number of deportees at well over one million. The usefulness of his account is enhanced by a two-page English summary. Kubiak's volume is provided with a particularly helpful German summary of nine pages.

STANLEY Z. PECH
University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Acta Baltica. Volume 9, *1969*. (Liber Annalis Instituti Baltici.) Königstein im Taunus: [the Institutum.] 1970. Pp. 328.

The *Acta Baltica* have been appearing annually since 1961, carrying articles on developments in the three Soviet Baltic republics, written for the most part by Baltic emigrés. In two issues the contributions were divided into Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian sections. The issue at hand contains four articles on Latvia, two on Estonia, and one on Lithu-

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ania, concentrating mainly on the economic development of the region.

The contributions are of varied interest for a Western reader. One or two are far more devoted to polemics than to analysis of economic developments. On the other hand, the first essay in the book, "Die Wirtschaft Estlands und deren strukturelle Veränderungen," by Elmar Järvesoo, raises a number of interesting points that Westerners should note. The development of industry in Estonia, for example, has brought about a rapid urbanization. In 1940 the urban population of Estonia represented only 34 per cent of the total; in 1967 it constituted 67 per cent. The rural population declined in the same period from 700,000 to 478,000. Industry produced over one half of the national income of Estonia in the last decade. The authors all seem to agree that the standard of living in the Baltic area is above that of the rest of the Soviet Union. Povilas Mažeika, a Lithuanian, argues that Soviet power, however, has accomplished nothing that Lithuania might not have achieved without Moscow's direction.

The concluding article by Rolfs Ekmanis takes up about one fourth of the volume and offers an extremely interesting survey of Soviet Latvian culture in the 1960s. Ekmanis considers problems of party line, of censorship, and of Stalinism. After surveying both poetry and prose writing, he turns to literary criticism and to the problem of the "literary heritage," that is, the "development of Latvian national literature." He concludes with brief surveys of theater, music, and fine arts and declares that accomplishments in all these realms still bespeak a "real Latvian culture."

ALFRED ERICH SENN
University of Wisconsin

JAMES R. GIBSON. *Feeding the Russian Fur Trade: Provisionment of the Okhotsk Seaboard and the Kamchatka Peninsula, 1639–1856.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 337. $15.00.

CLIFFORD M. FOUST. *Muscovite and Mandarin: Russia's Trade with China and Its Setting, 1727–1805.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. x, 424. $10.00.

Both studies together provide useful additional and quite detailed information on the Siberian frontier and Russia's early trading relations with China. By limiting their surveys to specific periods of time, neither attempts to be totally exhaustive, but the extensive footnotes and bibliographies in both books reflect thoroughness, scholarship, and sincerity of purpose.

Gibson, a historical geographer by training, focuses on the problem of supplying the advance Russian posts on the Pacific. Unlike Canada, he notes, Siberia had no buffalo and fewer reindeer; thus, Russian fur traders in the remote wilds of Siberia could not depend extensively on native game. On the other hand, because of climatic and soil conditions, agriculture on the shores of the Okhotsk Sea did not flourish. There was, for example, no such valuable crop as Indian corn. Hence, the hardy pioneers of eastern Siberia had to depend on provisions brought overland from far western regions of Russia. Part 1 of the study is given over to an account of the Russian occupation and exploitation of the Far East, its geographical setting, and the problem of provisionment. Part 2, constituting the bulk of the book, affords a precise description of the transportation routes, carriers, and problems associated with supplying provisions to the Far East. The last section, part 3, examines the nature of agricultural settlement and the problems associated with agricultural production.

Professor Foust's book is a somewhat more mature study. His major stress is on Chinese-Russian relations, emphasizing the dominance of the goal of trade. Foust wisely sets this goal in the noncommercial events of the period and reveals the manner in which trade was affected by a variety of factors and matters of a noneconomic character. It is for this reason that *Muscovite and Mandarin* should have a wider appeal than *Feeding the Russian Fur Trade.*

The year 1727, with the important Treaty of Kiakhta, marked a significant and substantial alteration in the conditions and terms of trade between Russia and China. Thereafter the Kiakhta system and new patterns of exchange developed, prevailing well into the early decades of the nineteenth century. In its discussion of this development lies the basic merit of the book, which fills an impor-

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tant gap in Western understanding of early Russo-Chinese trading relations.

One of the more delightful parts of Foust's study has to do with the founding and development of such Russian posts as Selenginsk and Kiakhta. The contrast he provides with counterparts on the Mongolian side of the frontier are striking and worthy of the attention of the cultural geographer. As in Gibson's work, there is a discussion of the Siberian routes, including the Great Road, which came into being largely in the 1760s.

Both authors are to be commended for their work and their contributions to our knowledge of Siberian frontier life and conditions in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

W. A. DOUGLAS JACKSON
University of Washington

NORMAN E. SAUL. *Russia and the Mediterranean, 1797–1807*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 268. $8.75.

"The extent and continuity of Russian participation in Mediterranean affairs" that distinguishes the years 1797–1807 in Russian history gives theme and organizational unity to Norman Saul's compact and able volume. But the resulting uneasy compromise between topical survey and thematic essay leaves the reader somewhat unsatisfied.

Attuned to the diplomatic mechanics of the period and to the technical problems of naval campaigns, Saul is at his best in supplying a well-documented summary of such unprecedented Russian involvements as Admiral Ushakov's naval exploits and the aberration of Paul I's mastery of the Maltese Order. Such brief compass, however, allows only cursory analysis of the problem of Russia's Ionian protectorate, or of the development of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. And if the author intended to give "special attention . . . to the role of individuals in the making of policy" (p. x), the attitudes towards Balkan expansion on the part of such influential advisers as Bezborodko and Czartoryski certainly merit further consideration.

The soundness of Saul's conclusion that "Alexander was less interested in the Mediterranean than in central and northern Europe" (p. 220) may help explain Russia's willingness to withdraw from the Adriatic in 1806 and 1807. But it does not compensate for the author's underplaying the crucial Prussian developments during the formation of the Third Coalition in 1804 or his glossing over the complexities of the Oubril negotiation in 1806. Nor does it explain the lingering war with Turkey. In fact the period 1797–1807 does not really constitute so easily a detachable time span in terms of Russian relations with the Ottoman Empire, and the author's Mediterranean focus does not always prove an adequate perspective for considering them. Indeed, because Saul is unable to demonstrate that Mediterranean developments were more than peripheral to the genesis and failure of either the Second or Third Coalition, his focus becomes largely a matter of geographical unity. Like the intriguing but basically uncoordinated developments he chronicles, Saul's Mediterranean theme remains somewhat anachronistic in terms of basic Russian foreign policy in the period.

The original research that the author contributes from scattered British, Austrian, and Mediterranean archives is overshadowed by his lack of the potentially more revealing Soviet archives. Although Saul suggests no documentary deficiencies, he is actually in the reverse position of his Soviet predecessor, A. M. Stanislavskaia, whose more substantial and narrowly focused study of the Black Sea problem during the same decade had to be done without foreign archives.

PATRICIA KENNEDY GRIMSTED
American University

N. S. KINIAPINA. *Politika russkogo samoderzhaviia v oblasti promyshlennosti (20–50e gody XIX v.)* [The Policy of Russian Autocracy in Industry, 1820s to 1850s]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1968. Pp. 451.

The bibliography of N. S. Kiniapina's *The Policy of Russian Autocracy in Industry, 1820s to 1850s* is a saddening commentary on the persisting isolation of Soviet historical scholarship. Kiniapina's bibliography unfortunately is not unique among Soviet publications in this respect. In a carefully organized, eleven-page catalogue consisting of about three hundred items, exactly seven are foreign

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works (listed separately as "Literature in Foreign Languages"). Of the seven, three are general biographies of tsars by Grunwald. There are two studies by Portal, one dealing with another century, and the other with another subject. The section concludes with Schiemann's *Geschichte Russlands Unter Kaiser Nikolaus I,* written over half a century ago. The only useful, recent non-Soviet work cited is Pintner's *Russian Economic Policy under Nicholas I* (1967). A substantial number of books and articles written in the past decade by European and American historians that might have been of help to the author are omitted. Were they consulted or, indeed, ever available to her? Mistakes could have been avoided: the gross underassessment of the role of foreign engineers—Gerstner, Whistler, Harrison, and the Winans brothers—in the construction of the early Russian railroads, for example. The Soviet Union need no longer begrudge recognition where it is due for the help foreigners have given to Russia, as the Khrushchev memoirs have recently indicated.

For the very same reasons that Kiniapina's bibliography is impoverished, few Western scholars can hope to achieve its virtue: intensive, comprehensive documentation from Soviet archives. Here is a definitive study, a crossing of all the *t*'s and dotting of all the *i*'s. It fills a gap in the nonetheless substantial Soviet historiography of Russian economic development in the prereform period. Any details one cannot find in Pintner, Westwood, and other European and American works that deal in whole or in part with the subject can be gleaned here. Such a maze of facts, to be sure, makes for tough going in a historical narrative but is very worthwhile in a reference work (unfortunately, there is no index of any kind). There is also a lot of trivia. For example, sixty-three pages are devoted to a detailed description of industrial exhibitions. These exhibitions were essentially Potemkin's "villagemanship," staged by the minister of finance to impress the tsar, who delighted in spectacles, but they had almost no effect on Russian economic development. Most of Kiniapina's book is concerned with more important questions. Of these, tariff policy, railroad construction, and engineering schools have been substantially covered already by both Soviet and non-Soviet scholars. More original is her material on the manufacturing councils, early patent and labor law, and elementary technical education. Interesting new memoranda and projects that the author has found in the archives are summarized.

The theme and conclusion of Kiniapina's study, which she expresses in Marxist terminology, is that tsarist industrial policy in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was frequently contradictory because it reflected the conflicts inherent in a predominantly agrarian society just beginning to modernize.

WILLIAM L. BLACKWELL
New York University

I. O. HURZHIY. *Ukraina v systemi vserosiys'koho rynku 60–90-kh rokiv XIX st.* [The Ukraine in the System of the All-Russian Market of the 1860s–1890s]. (Akademiia Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, Instytut Istorii.) Kiev: Vydavnytstvo "Naukova Dumka." 1968. Pp. 188.

This monograph is concerned with the economic history of the Ukraine at the peak of its capitalist industrial revolution. Mr. Hurzhiy discusses the development of Ukrainian industries, agriculture, transportation, and domestic and foreign trade. His study suffers greatly from the noninclusion of banking, corporate, and all other finances. Mr. Hurzhiy's sources are largely archival and primary, but there are insufficient references to Mr. Hurzhiy's predecessors. And there is no bibliography save in the footnotes. The book is well worth reading. It contributes many new facts and figures, particularly in the chapters on transportation and trade. To me, however, the most thought-provoking aspect is the author's failure to prove his main point that the Ukraine's economy was fully integrated into something he calls (after Lenin) the "All-Russian market" and that "with Moscow as its center" (Lenin probably did not say that). Mr. Hurzhiy repeats his thesis again and again. Yet, at the same time, he shows that in 1895 the Ukraine exported to St. Petersburg three times as much pig iron, and to Warsaw four times as much grain as it shipped to Moscow, whose economy was still relatively undeveloped. He also recognizes

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that there were as many as eight quite distinct and separate regional economies (markets) in the territory of the Russian Empire, of which the Ukraine was the most diversified and highly developed. By having neglected the financial system Mr. Hurzhiy seems unaware that the main control centers of Ukrainian industries were located not in Moscow but in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and London. The foreign dominated cartels in the Ukraine were territorially Ukrainian institutions that fought fierce competitive battles against the Russian and Polish cartels. Finally, integration could not have been questioned were it demonstrated statistically that an impressive percentage of the Ukraine's output was transported to and sold in Russia proper, and that a similarly significant proportion of Russia's output was sold in the Ukraine. This Mr. Hurzhiy has not shown.

VSEVOLOD HOLUBNYCHY
Hunter College,
City University of New York

GERHARD SIMON. *Konstantin Petrovič Pobedonoscev und die Kirchenpolitik des Heiligen Sinod 1880–1905.* (Kirche im Osten, Monograph Series, Number 7.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. 280. DM 34.

C. P. Pobedonostsev, the procurator of the Russian Holy Synod from 1880 to 1905, had been the tutor of both Tsar Alexander II and Alexander III. He was a firm believer in tsarist autocracy coupled with Russian Orthodoxy and was wholly opposed to Western democracy. The two concepts—autocracy and Orthodoxy—were so united in his mind that he could not conceive of them separately. Thus in his eyes dissent from Orthodoxy was a political offense that he, as procurator, severely punished. Religion was to be "the spiritual foundation of every right in the state and civil life and of every true culture" (p. 29). During his long term of office he used his great power to establish these principles.

The Holy Synod, created by Peter the Great in 1721 in place of the defunct patriarchate, was but a department of the state for religious affairs, operating just as any other governmental department. The tsar had the supreme authority in all administrative functions of the Church, which he delegated to his lay procurator, who served as his representative. All the decrees of the synod had to have the procurator's approval and were communicated to the tsar solely through him. The procurator could veto any decree or merely refrain from passing it on to the tsar, whereupon it automatically lapsed, for the tsar's signature made a decree valid. The members of the synod were appointed by the emperor from the list submitted by the procurator. Only the four major metropolitans—of Moscow, Petersburg, Kiev, and the exarch of Georgia—were members ex officio, not by appointment.

Pobedonostsev used his powers not only in ruling the Church through the appointments of bishops, heads of monasteries, and other high officials, but in expecting the entire Church establishment to serve as the "spiritual police." He likewise exercised repressive influence in education and on the press to prevent the penetration of harmful ideas from the West. The author describes the shockingly low condition of the parochial clergy, charging them with ignorance and prevailing drunkenness.

The rest of the book is devoted to the attitude of the Church and state toward the non-Orthodox population. An effort was made to restrict and prohibit such groups, or if possible convert them to Russian Orthodoxy. The chief among these groups were the Old Believers, who had been treated as heretics until the middle of the seventeenth century. They had refused the Niconian reforms adopted by the Council of 1666, and in course of time separated into two principal branches, the "priestly" and the "nonpriestly." In 1800 a minority of them recognized the official Church and in turn were allowed to practice their old rites. But the majority refused to follow the example. The evangelical groups, such as the Stundists, Baptist-Mennonites, Dukhobors, Molokans, and Tolstoyans, were subjected to unrelenting pressure: some of the Dukhobors emigrated to Canada. The Roman Catholics were not excepted from such treatment.

The author has collected a great deal of detailed information, particularly about the administration of the Russian Church, that is not easily available elsewhere. This feature

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of his book constitutes its principal contribution.

MATTHEW SPINKA
Claremont, California

L. M. SPIRIN. *Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoi voine v Rossii (1917–1920 gg.)* [Classes and Parties in the Civil War in Russia (1917–1920)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1968. Pp. 437.

Perhaps nothing makes a conflict so inevitable in the eyes of a chronicler or the course taken by the victors so correct as the success of the contestants whose partisan he is. L. M. Spirin's account of the Russian civil war concludes that the major task of the Communist party (Bolshevik) was not to wipe out the superior numbers of its class enemies but to neutralize them, win them over to its side, and re-educate them. The party found the means of accomplishing this task; a few mistakes (and the author considers them minor) were quickly corrected. The key was the winning over of the "petty bourgeois" elements consisting in greater part of the "middle" peasants; and the bulk of the book deals in detail with the transformation of the political arena in which the effort of "petty bourgeois parties" to find a "third way" was "doomed to fail" and the winning combination of the Communist party (Bolshevik) developed.

So what do we have, another tract on the infallibility of Marxist theory and practice? Not quite. Spirin recognizes that "the civil war in Russia, involving the Russian and the international bourgeoisie, had a unique character that in another time and in other circumstances might not be repeated" (p. 411). Furthermore he cites substantial monographic work since 1950 in the Soviet Union on the civil war period.

Since Spirin makes extensive use of election returns in his study, it invites comparison with Oliver H. Radkey's *The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917* (Cambridge, 1950). Spirin has found returns for a few districts Radkey could not—for Kaluga, the Caucasus Front, the Chinese Eastern Railway, a few limited returns for Central Asia—and for some districts he has more complete returns. He fails to make use of the returns for Podolia, which Radkey did find (Spirin does allude to Radkey's works on the Socialist revolutionaries, although I think he misreads Radkey [p. 22]). But Professor Radkey may well rest on his laurels so far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned.

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.
Oregon State University

G. K. DEEV *et al.*, editors. *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* [Documents of the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. Volume 15, *1 ianvaria–31 dekabria 1932 g.* [January 1–December 31, 1932]. (Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR, Komissiia po Izdaniiu Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov pri MID SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1969. Pp. 866.

To the historian, one of the most praiseworthy actions taken by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in 1956 was its call for a more systematic study and publication of historical documents. Part of the response to this call was the series *Documents of the Foreign Policy of the U.S.S.R.* (*DVP*), publication of which began in 1957.

Under the original plan, the series was intended to cover the period 1917–27 and to be completed in ten volumes. By a decision announced in December 1964, however, coinciding with the publication of volume 10, the planned coverage was extended to the outbreak of World War II. It was estimated at that time that ten to twelve additional volumes would be required, and it was hoped that the entire series could be completed by 1970.

Since that time volumes of *DVP* have been appearing at an average rate of one per year. Each of the later volumes contains materials from a single year; volume 15, the latest available at the time of writing, covers 1932.

With another eight or nine volumes to go, it is too soon to attempt an evaluation of the series as a whole; the present review, therefore, is limited to comments designed as an interim aid to users of the series.

It should be stated at the outset that no historian seriously concerned with Soviet foreign policy or international relations in the years between the two world wars can afford to neglect these volumes. Much of the material they contain comes from the Soviet

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archives and is published for the first time. Even where the general course of events was previously known, the materials published in *DVP* often provide additional data or fuller, more reliable texts.

It would be unwise, nevertheless, to rely on *DVP* alone for one's picture of Soviet foreign policy. Its focus is narrowly diplomatic in the traditional sense, with the result that few foreign policy directives by the Communist party or the Soviet government have been included, while any recognition of the importance of the foreign policy activities of the Communist International (Comintern) is entirely lacking.

Even within its own strictly defined area of responsibility, *DVP* is not an entirely reliable guide. In the volume under review, for example, along with much that is new and welcome, there are some striking omissions—for example, the well-authenticated conventions on conciliation procedure signed by the Soviet Union with Estonia and Latvia in June 1932.

It would be rash, no doubt, to hazard any guesses as to the possible editorial biases that have resulted in these and similar oversights; the point is simply that the historian still needs to consult a wide range of materials in order to obtain a sound conception of Soviet foreign policy. As one source among many, *DVP* is of great value; it should not be regarded as complete in itself.

ROBERT M. SLUSSER
The Johns Hopkins University

NEAR EAST

E. R. J. OWEN. *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820–1914: A Study in Trade and Development.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 416. $11.75.

Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820–1914 is a volume of economic history that will be welcomed by those interested in development economics as well as by those whose primary focus is the modern history of the Middle East. François Charles-Roux's *La production du coton en Egypt* (1908) was followed in the next generation by A. E. Crouchley's *The Economic Development of Modern Egypt* (1938). Neither of these writers attempted to follow a description of the evolution of cotton culture in nineteenth-century Egypt with a detailed analysis of the ways in which that evolution shaped the economic history of the country.

The first 179 pages of Mr. Owen's book deal in more or less chronological fashion with the history of long-staple cotton and its impact upon the economic, social, and political structures of Egypt until the dethronement of Ismâʿîl. Part 2, corresponding to the period of increasing international financial control and the British occupation, takes advantage of the greater variety and reliability of statistics to follow a more rigorously analytical approach. The reader is struck both by the impressive volume of statistical and descriptive material Owen has marshaled to his task and by the delicacy and judgment with which he uses it.

The evolution of a dominating export-oriented cotton sector in the nineteenth century stimulated enormous growth in finance, ginning, transportation, and housing, as well as in other agricultural sectors; yet while growth was achieved, development was not. Perhaps the most rewarding section of the book is the concluding chapter in which the author discusses the applicability of major theories of trade and development to the Egyptian experience. One group of these theories concentrates upon the direct and indirect gains provided by the export-oriented sector, while the second seeks to explain why in certain countries these gains were limited or distorted in such a way as to impede development. While the latter group of theories is the most germane to the Egyptian experience, the author finds that only a few of them are directly applicable. Most of these center around the concept of a dual economy in which the modern export sector exists as an enclave largely shut off from the traditional sector. Since the traditional sector in Egypt was closely connected from the beginning with the production of long-staple cotton, the relevance of such theories is immediately diminished. Among other theories the author refutes are some of those Charles Issawi presented in "Egypt since 1800: A Study in Lop-Sided Development" (in *The Economic His-*

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tory of the Middle East, 1800–1914 [1966]), which sees the failure of the export sector to become the engine of growth as related to the propensity of the entrepreneurial classes to spend most of their profits abroad and of the masses to expend mostly in imported consumer goods. Owen's findings seem to indicate that a considerable portion of peasant income was in fact spent on products of local origin, while he repeatedly insists, with less documentation than I should like to see, that since over half the foreign population were permanent residents of Egypt, much of their profit was reinvested in the country. The important point here seems to be that even if foreigners reinvested within Egypt, they seldom did so in sectors calculated to diversify the growth patterns.

The author seems to imply that the reasons why a well-capitalized and highly skilled export sector failed to stimulate sustained growth in the economy as a whole may in fact be related to sociological factors. Yet one comes away from this book with the uneasy feeling that an important correlation is not made sufficiently explicit: a European coterie of bankers, ginners, and exporters, seconded by a British proconsulate created in their own image, did everything possible to strengthen an economic status quo that worked to their advantage as well as to that of the mill operators of Lancashire and the banking houses of London and Paris: what was to their advantage was not always to that of Egypt.

JOHN RUEDY
Georgetown University

HISHAM SHARABI. *Arab Intellectuals and the West: The Formative Years, 1875–1914.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, in cooperation with the Middle East Institute. 1970. Pp. x, 139. $7.95.

MAJID KHADDURI. *Political Trends in the Arab World: The Role of Ideas and Ideals in Politics.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 298. $11.00.

Since the appearance of Albert Hourani's classic *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (1962), the intellectual history of the modern Near East has come into a new maturity. The two books under review here represent a new wave in the exploitation of this fertile vein, the interpretive efforts of Arab-American scholars to place the course of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Near Eastern history in the new perspective of the Arab world after the June War. Neither book is an original piece of historical research, but both in very different ways seek to bring a degree of rigor to the searching examination of recent Arab history in the quest of an answer to the question of how it got that way. Sharabi's book is concerned with the formative first phase of Arab response to the West known as the Arab Awakening. Khadduri's work is more general in its scope but deals primarily with the interwar and postwar phases of the development of Arab nationalism. Both books can be confidently recommended, with but the reservations noted, to those interested in the modern Arab world.

Professor Sharabi's slim volume is the more ambitious and interesting of the two books, although finally perhaps the less satisfactory. It is marred by being too schematic, and the argument often suffers from being too compressed. For a book that emphasizes the social context in which Arab intellectuals were embedded, it pays curiously little attention at times to the complexities of Arab society. Essentially, Sharabi's originality lies in his attempt to apply the canons of the sociology of knowledge in an effort "to understand social change in terms of its relation to the explicit content of contemporary consciousness," that is, to study the Arab intellectuals of the Arab Awakening as expressions of the experience of their generation. Sharabi distinguishes, for purposes of analysis, three main groups, namely Christian Westernizers, Muslim reformists, and Muslim secularists. He then proceeds to examine each group in turn, focusing on its social context, intellectual concerns, and its role in the transformation of the traditional system of thought. He concludes that the failure of the Muslim secularists to develop a systematic doctrine or program, or to assimilate fully the rationalist perspective was to have weighty consequences for the future, since they largely set the tone for those who followed them. Hence, he implies, the present Arab difficulties in coming up with an ideology of sufficient coherence and rationality.

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Professor Khadduri's book represents the product of a lifetime's concern with the politics of the Arab world. It seeks to study the mainstreams of modern Arab thought and to assess its elements and character in relation to political movements. It will be followed by a companion volume that will deal with leadership. Khadduri covers some of the ground already explored by Hourani but broadens the coverage and brings the study of modern Arab thought up to date. His chapters on collectivist thought and on free thought and secularism (chapters 5 and 9) are especially well done, and in general Khadduri appears strongest in those areas where he is breaking new ground. Otherwise, the heterogeneity of the subject matter appears to have led to a certain lack of focus and an uneven quality. Khadduri suggests that the conflict between pro- and antireform elements should be seen basically as a conflict of generation rather than of classes or intellectuals, but it is doubtful if this formula is analytically much more satisfactory than the search for an illusory new middle class. Khadduri's book, although flawed by its speculative last chapters, should prove a useful contribution to the study of ideas and politics in the region.

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SIR GILBERT FALKINGHAM CLAYTON. *An Arabian Diary*. Introduced and edited by ROBERT O. COLLINS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 379. $8.50.

Sir Gilbert Falkingham Clayton (1875–1929), eminent British soldier, Arabist, intelligence officer, and diplomat, has been generally neglected by scholars concerned with the recent history of the Middle East. The publication of his *Arabian Diary* under the editorship of Robert O. Collins, whose scholarship and talents as an Africanist are universally recognized, might reverse that unfortunate trend and provide the necessary impetus for further research into the diplomatic history of the Middle East from the turn of the century up until 1929; it might also bring about a re-evaluation of past scholarship concerned with it.

History seems to have paid lip service to this veritable British imperial "Eminence Grise" in the Middle East not only because he found neither the time nor arrogance to publish but, and more importantly, because he was neither overtly controversial nor as glamorous as some of his contemporaries such as T. E. Lawrence, Colonel Hogart, or Henry McMahon, who worked with him or, more appropriately, through whom much of his intelligence was acted. Of course, references to Sir Gilbert's subtle presence in this invaluable former nexus of Britain's imperial domain abound in countless historical accounts, from those of George Antonius and Arnold Toynbee to those of Zeine N. Zeine; but, and this is undoubtedly due to Sir Gilbert's character and personality, no single book until this one has been particularly or exclusively concerned with him. Furthermore, and this may be a positive factor, the *Arabian Diary* of the gentle "Bertie" of the Middle East tends to exacerbate the mystery surrounding the man and undoubtedly will provoke much interest in and research into his personal papers, which were generously donated in 1963 by his family to the Sudan Archives of the School of Oriental Studies of Durham University, Sudan. Indeed, many rewarding Ph.D. dissertations could result from such activity and, in this context, I feel that attention must be drawn to Bertie's Palestine Government Papers.

An Arabian Diary has been imaginatively introduced, annotated, and presented by Robert O. Collins of the University of California at Santa Barbara. Collins' venture into Arabia's treacherous sands is welcome indeed, even though his introduction to part 1 (the book contains separate introductions to its two parts) betrays *in passim* his less perfect familiarity with Asia's Arab affairs than with Africa's. Thus, he summarily dismisses the Balfour Declaration as "designed to . . . pledge British support for the idea of a Jewish Palestine in which Arab rights would be recognized in the context of Hebraic culture." Perhaps this lack of familiarity has also led Mr. Collins to be unduly influenced by his hero's charming spell and thus to idealize and romanticize Britain's imperial blunders in the area concerned—a failing one does not

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readily find in his writings on Africa. Nevertheless, Mr. Collins should be warmly congratulated for the splendid service he has rendered the scholarly world in taking the cloak off Sir Gilbert and his personal papers. Truely, *An Arabian Diary* is an indispensable addition to the Middle Eastern bookshelves.

ALFRED G. GERTEINY
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AFRICA

WALTER RODNEY. *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800.* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 283. $7.00.

KWAME YEBOA DAAKU. *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600–1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade.* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 219. $8.00.

The Upper Guinea Coast as used here (from the Gambia River to Cape Mount) and the Gold Coast were from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries two of the most active areas of maritime trade in West Africa. Senegal and Benin at times were also active, but the so-called Slave Coast and especially the Ivory Coast were slower to develop in this respect. European records reflect some of this contact, and Rodney exploits the Portuguese archives as well as the Public Record Office in London and to some extent Spanish and Vatican documents. Daaku consulted the Dutch and English archives. The differences of sources as well as individual interpretations account, more than the areas, for what contrasts and discrepancies there are, though on the whole the two volumes complement each other.

Daaku thinks that the Portuguese-African relations on the Gold Coast were "never as cordial as they were . . . in upper Guinea" (p. 53). This generalization is set in the context of building the fort at Elmina. Rodney shows (p. 53) that the issue of forts was not always "cordial" but admits that the question was less important in Upper Guinea than on the Gold Coast.

Daaku begins when the Dutch appear in force and has to deal with the declining Portuguese fortunes for which he has to manage without the Portuguese-language papers, while on the other hand Rodney has to cope with Dutch activities for which he relies mainly on Portuguese sources (for example, p. 126). Although he does cite one Dutch reference, this is probably a translation in the Furley collection (p. 127, n. 1). Little has been rendered into English from either of these languages, and each is an important contribution; but the nature of the situation suggests that they ought to swap areas now and redo the job so that broader bases for interpretation can be established.

Rodney's interpretations seem open to question on some points. His decision that the Mende are the principal descendants of the Mane is perhaps too facile—and they are hardly in the right location since the "emperor" was reported to have resided "beyond Cape Mount." He seems to be unaware that the appelation Mane, and variants thereof, are still current in Liberia (see D. Westermann and M. A. Bryan, *Handbook of African Languages. Part II: Languages of West Africa* [1952], 34).

The characterization of the Futa Jalon state runs counter to the view of the states emerging from *jihad* in West Africa that is developing from recent research in Arabic and other documents from the interior. Perhaps the Arabists have romanticized somewhat, but Rodney seems too harsh, no doubt as a result of his general attitude toward the slave trade. A more balanced statement is given by Suret-Canale in *West African Chiefs* (1970), edited by M. Crowder and O. Ikime.

Daaku is able to overturn some old myths, for example, that the Dutch loaned money to Denkyira to fight Asante: there are no records of such a loan and Denkyira is absent from a Dutch list of debtors (p. 69), but Daaku seems occasionally reticent to suggest any hypothesis when one might focus our attention more closely to a problem. For example, on page 89 he states: "Why Komenda affairs should be decided by the kings of Fetu and Asebu is difficult to understand"; but on page 183 he reprints a document indicating that the three states were once united. Obviously the situation was more complicated, but these two situations might have been juxtaposed.

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The translation of Nørregård's study, based on the Danish archives, might have been consulted on Carloff (p. 108 ff.), the Fetu-Danish conflict (p. 110), and the Akwamu-Danish conflict (p. 112).

Both books give us a look into the African societies as well as the maritime trade, and processes common to both areas were at work. European influences on African politics were standard conditions, and in each area a "New Class" (as Daaku calls them) emerged as a result of contact.

DANIEL F. MCCALL
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J. C. ANENE. *The International Boundaries of Nigeria 1885–1960: The Framework of an Emergent African Nation.* (Ibadan History Series.) New York: Humanities Press. 1970. Pp. xxiii, 331. $9.00.

The problems of boundaries in Africa is the subject of a growing, if uncoordinated, body of literature. Until recently these boundaries were considered to be arbitrary dividing lines imposed by colonial powers and of little relevance to the most immediate problem of nation-building from the center. Students of African affairs have now begun to investigate the social and political consequences of these often unmarked borders that divide ethnic and cultural units as well as states. Thus a recent seminar discussed these problems at Uppsala, Sweden (*African Boundary Problems* [1969]), and there is the recent monograph on the legal properties of boundaries by F. J. Dias van Dunem (*Les Frontières Africaines* [Aix-Marseilles, 1969]). This posthumously published work by J. C. Anene is an important contribution, and I am glad that his friends and the publisher have brought this book out. Joe Anene meant very much to the development of history teaching at Ibadan and in Nigeria, and he was also a lucid historian of great learning.

This study is divided into two parts. In the first part he discusses boundaries or rather frontier zones among various African groups and the difficulties of group demarcation. The complexities of African traditional frontiers and human patterns are emphasized. The second part consists of a review of the problem of the various international boundaries —the eastern, the western, and the northern boundaries. The material is here presented in a new and obvious way: the study of what is basically a history of European diplomacy in this part of Africa is set in the African context and analyzed with great insight against the background of indigenous African political organization and activities. This gives the historical study of boundaries (and occasionally also the Colonial Office documents) a new dimension.

CARL GÖSTA WIDSTRAND
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ARTHUR AGWUNCHA NWANKWO and SAMUEL UDOCHUKWU IFEJIKA. *Biafra: The Making of a Nation.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xii, 361. $8.95.

This is among the first of what will undoubtedly be a large number of volumes of a scholarly nature dealing with the recent conflict in Nigeria. Fortunately, it sets a reasonably high standard. The authors, both Biafrans, were actively engaged in the activities of the Biafran government and, understandably, feel deeply about the war, its costs in human life, and for the legacy of bitterness it left in Nigeria.

Despite their evident partiality, the book treats the events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities with remarkable detachment. No attempt is made to carry on the story after the declaration of Biafran independence, but the record of events, told from the Biafran viewpoint, forms an invaluable source for later analyses. The accounts of certain episodes that received relatively little attention in the Western press but that were nevertheless significant in the build-up to the final disaster are especially well treated. The replacement of the head of the University of Lagos—an Ibo of scholarly distinction and administrative skill—by a Yoruba as a result of political and tribal pressures is particularly to be singled out as is the detailed account of the failure to carry out the terms of the Aburi agreement.

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The chapters on the military in Nigerian politics place in clear perspective the degree to which the military leaders, for all their profession of devotion to a united Nigeria, were themselves swayed by tribal and regional loyalties. In addition the authors document the fact that the two preceding coups were by no means exclusively carried out by the Ibos, despite the prominence given to the Ibo role at the time.

The overall impression left by the reconstruction of events as the authors see them is one of inexorable tragedy. The actions both of the political leaders and of the military leave the reader with the feeling that an inevitable fate had condemned Nigeria to bloodshed and that, short of the appearance of a nationally recognized Messiah, little could be done by human hands to avert it. Opportunities occurred to deflect the course of events, but they were either ignored by the politicians in their eager search for personal aggrandizement, or they were unseen by the military leadership inexperienced in political manipulation. Who were the real culprits in the Nigerian debacle? The authors single out the British colonial administration for having set the scene by dividing Nigeria according to British economic interests. As the conflict approached, regional political rivalries combined with traditional tribal antagonisms added fuel to fires of hatred. In addition the authors see behind the scenes the furtive hands of Western diplomats, "actively geared to satisfy their imperialistic interests in Nigeria," and the remaining British expatriates in the North who encouraged the Northern leaders in their dreams of secession or dominance. No doubt there is some truth in these latter allegations, but it is difficult to see what the interests of the Western powers might have been in promoting the break-up of the country and, more particularly, wherein British interests might have paralleled those of the few remaining expatriates in the North.

As might be expected the Biafran position appears least worthy of blame in the eyes of the authors. Colonel Ojukwu is painted as defending the cause of his own people in the face of treachery and bad faith on the part of the federal government. There are, of course, two sides to the story; the present volume ably presents the case of the Easterners.

The authors' conclusion is that, in effect, the attempt at a federal Nigeria was doomed to failure from the start because "Nigeria was not one country, but several 'countries' —brought together by a forced political amalgamation." The only solution lies ultimately in a form of loose confederation of autonomous states, of the type recommended by Colonel Ojukwu. Until "Nigeria's single most basic problem . . . *sub-nationalism*," is fully recognized there can be no permanent peace. While it has been successfully proved, at least for the time being, that federal power can defeat one secessionist attempt, the roots of the internal forces dividing Nigeria have scarcely been touched, and the prospect of further efforts at secession, especially by the North, can never be discounted although they may appear remote at the moment.

For those interested not only in Nigeria but in parallel potential situations elsewhere in Africa, this book is of major importance. We await an equally perceptive and detailed presentation of the federal government's position during the years of crisis leading to the tragedy of Biafra.

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RENÉ LEMARCHAND. *Rwanda and Burundi.* (Praeger Library of African Affairs.) New York: Praeger. 1970. Pp. xi, 562. $12.50.

Rwanda and Burundi, lands of tall, monarchical Tutsi and squat, subordinate Hutu "peasants," seemed stable, remote, and mysterious colonial lands at the end of their period of Belgian governance. Yet stability masked extreme and complicated forms of unequal social stratification that, not inevitably but as a result of a constellation of circumstances that Lemarchand examines and explains in a painstaking and rewarding manner, led in the 1950s and 1960s to coups d'état, social revolution, and ethnic-based genocide.

The Rwandese massacre of 1963–64 serves as the emotive pivot of this long and careful study. In Burundi the course of events proved

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less traumatic. Lemarchand shows how and in what ways the precolonial and hence post-independence social and political structures of the two countries were less congruent than had been supposed. The monarchy was authoritarian and omnipotent in Rwanda and constitutional in Burundi; the Hutu, a sizeable majority in both territories, were permitted significant political and social roles only in Burundi. There achievement was possible for Hutu; in Rwanda the ruling Tutsi clans actually prevented vertical mobility among their subjects. The differences between Rwanda and Burundi today, and during the formative 1960s, reflect such fundamental societal strains, but Lemarchand wisely refuses to construct a simple causal model. One of the many virtues of this exhaustive book is its careful evaluation of an array of variables (not least the attitudes of Belgian and Swiss missionaries and the Belgian administration, and events and postures in the Congo, to which the colonial Ruanda-Urundi was umbilically tied) to each of which Lemarchand ultimately assigns responsibility for the chaos of the 1960s and the national fragility of the 1970s.

This is recent history done well, virtually definitively, and enriched by the insights of contemporary social science. The opening background survey is the best short political and social introduction to the two countries. The second chapter, a conceptually organized history of the colonial period, is less satisfactory, and the decision to treat Rwanda and Burundi separately during the 1960s makes for much repetition and methodological redundance. Nevertheless, in Lemarchand's hands the progression of Rwanda from trust territory to assassination and revolution, through a political reorganization climaxed by the coup d'état of 1961 to the inauguration of a Hutu republic in 1962, at last becomes comprehensible. He also devotes considerable energy to an unraveling of the politics of the Tutsi in exile, the *inyenzi* invasions, and their sanguinary climax in late 1963 and early 1964.

For Burundi, where the developments of the dozen years before 1970 were, if anything, even more confusing and astonishing, Lemarchand is equally thorough and appropriately revisionist. He has plotted the political maneuverings of the early 1960s and has understood the fateful consequences of the assassination in 1961 of Prince Louis Rwagasore. The interlocking role of the monarchy and the politicians, and the influence of foreigners, especially the mainland Chinese, are handled well. In 1965 a coup failed, and Hutu were slaughtered in large numbers, but this reaction in Burundi was not merely, as Lemarchand shows, a mirror image of the earlier killings in Rwanda. It was at this juncture, too, that the lack of leadership on the part of the *mwami*, or king, proved decisive for 1965, and for the end of the political game as it was being played in Burundi (and in so many new nations of Africa). The army captain who aborted the coup in 1965 found himself a fulcrum balancing ethnic and political claims that the existing political system could not resolve. In 1966, but not because it was the sole guardian of the "national interest," the army assumed power, and rules today.

Throughout this searching book Lemarchand laudably tries to do more than write informed political history. He seeks to use the empirical examination of Rwanda and Burundi as the basis for a new general theory of revolution. He compares and uses the suggestions of others, but transcending his special evidence and particular cases here proves more pretentious than paradigmatic. The virtues of the book are other, many, and important. This is rich, insightful history enhanced by its quality of interdisciplinary inquiry.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

JOSEPH NEEDHAM. *Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West: Lectures and Addresses on the History of Science and Technology.* Based largely on collaborative work with WANG LING *et al.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 469, 40 plates. $22.50.

The first word in the title of this book is somewhat puzzling. I assume that Needham wants

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it understood as a translation of the Chinese term *Shih,* which means the scholar as well as the officiant. In this way the title would reflect Needham's major concerns, science and technology. Needham is, of course, well known for his unique contribution *Science and Civilization in China,* of which six sturdy volumes have already appeared (1954–70) and at least three more are expected. Whereas his more general articles have been anthologized in the volumes *Within the Four Seas: The Dialogue of East and West* and *The Great Titration: Science and Society in East and West* (both 1969), the volume under review collects lectures and papers that are considered parerga of his major work, expanding on specific problems and summarizing and synthesizing others. Some of the contributions found in this volume are published here for the first time; others have appeared during the last twenty years in scholarly journals among which are titles to which access is not always easy. In these cases the articles have been brought up to date whenever necessary. Not included have been monographic studies considered too specialized to be of general interest. One might express the hope that these too will one day be republished collectively between two covers. Ample recognition is given to Needham's collaborators such as Wang Ling, Lu Gwei-djen, and Ho Ping-yü.

Needham's literally unmatched competence in the field of the history of science on a global scale puts him in a position to see phenomena and developments in this field in proper proportions. This pertains to concepts and inventions as well as to general approaches. His statement, for instance, that early Western mathematicians were more geometry-minded and early Chinese mathematicians more algebra-minded, or that in physics the West laid the conceptual foundations for the atomic theory and China for the wave theory are exceedingly illuminating. He also assesses the contributions of the third great center of scientific advance, the Arab world, which was informed by ideas and techniques both from the East and from the West, which added to them and in turn influenced both the East and the West, and which furthermore acted as a link in the transmission of ideas and techniques from the East to the West and vice versa.

Strangely, this mutual flow of information appears to have been much more selective than the level of Arab knowledge would have permitted. With all this Needham is in a position not only to compare but also to establish and evaluate priorities. This is a topic that pervades the whole volume, incidentally in many of the contributions and in a more general way in the last article, "The Roles of Europe and China in the Evolution of Oecumenical Science." There emerges from his description a vivid impression of those awesome moments of history when East and West met and when they did not meet, such as the time when the great explorers from China and the great explorers from the West almost, but not quite, encountered each other on the shores of Africa. A speculative mind is again and again plagued by the question: "What would have happened, if?"

It cannot be the purpose of this review to discuss the contributions of this volume individually. They deal with astronomy, horology, meteorology, the mariners' compass, iron and steel production, problems of mechanical engineering, medical issues, and many other topics. Considering the vast range of coverage, it is amazing how few are the instances where one would want to differ from Needham's interpretation or Needham's facts. One such instance might be his statement that "the Chinese . . . founded no [overseas] colonies of any kind" (p. 53). Actually there was in Ming times on what are now the Philippine Islands a large Chinese colony, the character of which still awaits investigation. It was wiped out when the Spaniards entered the field. In this context one would also have liked to see mention of the fact that after the discontinuation of the imperially sponsored overseas missions, Chinese private ships went on plying the oceans on a considerable scale in direct contravention to imperial policy. Or one might venture to suggest that in his article, "Elixir Poisoning in Medieval China," a broader interpretation of the term "immortality" would have been helpful. Immortality was for many a symbol or even a poetic trope. Among the more credulous there is again a wide range of meanings that have been attached to this term. Among them was without doubt also the understanding

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of immortality as an otherworldly phenomenon. Reference could be made here to the *Chou shih ming-t'ung chi,* a detailed record of religious experiences of one Mr. Chou in quest of immortality. This record was edited by T'ao Hung-ching (451–536 A.D.). When Chou eventually took the elixir this resulted in what we would call immediate death. His master T'ao and his school did, however, interpret this event as the attainment of immortality. Emperor Wen-hsüan's reluctance to take the elixir (p. 320) might also have to be interpreted as a rejection of otherworldly immortality.

Needham takes great pains to put concepts and developments neatly into their historical, political, and social contexts. In this endeavor he differentiates between the basic characters of Eastern and Western society, and he makes many thoughtful and well-argued points concerning the reasons why things tended to develop as they did within the context of Chinese society. He calls the structure of Chinese society "bureaucratic feudalism." Some might quarrel with this term. Nobody, however, will quarrel with Needham's emphatic request that Chinese ideas and inventions be properly scrutinized and allotted the place they deserve within a history of ecumenical science.

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ANTOINE GAUBIL, S.J. *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722–1759.* Edited by RENÉE SIMON. Preface by PAUL DEMIÉVILLE. Appendixes by JOSEPH DEHERGNE, S.J. (Études de philologie et d'histoire, Number 14.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1970. Pp. xviii, 1001.

Father Antoine Gaubil, S.J. (1689–1759) was the foremost European Sinologist of the eighteenth century. Although nominally a missionary, Gaubil's duties in China were mainly of a secular nature. Missionary work in the conventional sense was not permitted after 1724 (Peking and, apparently, Canton were exceptions), and the only missionaries who lived in China legally were those, like Gaubil, who were in the employ of the Chinese government. Gaubil taught Latin to Manchu youths preparing to represent their country in relations with Russia, and he served as a court translator. His main work, however, was in the Board of Astronomy, the directorship of which had been in European hands since early in the Ch'ing period.

During almost forty years of residence in Peking, Gaubil translated several of the Chinese classics, portions of the official T'ang history, and a number of other works. This, moreover, was only a fraction of his total output, a bibliography of which, appended to the book under review, runs to twenty-six pages. As Gaubil's scholarly reputation spread, he was elected to the leading European learned societies of the day. And the correspondence he engaged in with contemporary European savants forms a considerable portion of the volume before us.

Renée Simon has performed a notable service in tracking down and reproducing some 342 of Gaubil's letters, most of them never before published. The letters are well edited, and their usefulness is enhanced enormously by the inclusion of copious chronologies and indexes (compiled mostly by Father Joseph Dehergne, S.J.).

This is a large undertaking. To whom will it be of value? For the student of European Sinology (particularly as it relates to Chinese astronomy, the chronology of the Chinese past, and Chinese knowledge of world geography), Gaubil's letters will be of incalculable importance. They also contain a certain amount of interesting detail on the condition of Christianity in the Yung-cheng and early Ch'ien-lung reigns. As a window on the China in which Gaubil lived, however, the correspondence is a grave disappointment. Partly, no doubt, this is a reflection of the degree to which the missionaries were cut off from Chinese society. They could move about Peking freely but were barred from leaving the city. Also, in contrast with earlier times, they had little contact with the throne. (By my count, Gaubil had three audiences with Yung-cheng—the descriptions of which, incidentally, are tantalizing—and none with Ch'ien-lung.) Partly, also, I suspect that the paucity of information on contemporary China reflects the scholarly orientation of the author of the letters. Gaubil's first love was astronomy, his second, Sinology. Regrettably, for the student of the eighteenth century, his interest in his immediate environment was minimal.

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YEN-P'ING HAO. *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge between East and West.* (Harvard East Asian Series, Number 45.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 315. $10.00.

This volume is one of the best studies on Chinese socioeconomic history published in recent years. It contains a detailed analysis, which includes many insights and suggestive ideas, of the compradorial class in the China of the treaty-port days.

The eleven chapters of the book can be grouped into three main parts. The first examines the rise and fall of the comprador and his functions in the foreign firm. The second part deals with economic and noneconomic activites and discusses the economic role of the comprador as an individual and as a socioeconomic institution. The final part is a summary statement of main findings and conclusions.

The discussion of the role of the comprador in affecting the Chinese economy is useful. The most important conclusion of the study appears to be that in many respects the comprador played a significant role in modern China's economic development—a role that stemmed from his position as an economic middleman between East and West. In my opinion, however, the significance of the compradorial role in affecting Chinese economic development seems to be overstated. This is probably because the author allows too great an emphasis on the importance of foreign trade, with which the comprador was closely connected. According to Professor Hao, foreign trade in nineteenth-century China performed the role of a "leading sector," generating a process of cumulative economic growth. In actuality, however, foreign trade was primarily a means through which foreign merchants extracted part of China's agricultural surplus. And as a middleman the comprador shared some of the surplus. But both the foreign merchant and the comprador made very little return to Chinese agriculture. Inasmuch as China was a predominantly agricultural country, the process of economic growth could not become cumulative and continuous without technical transformation of the agricultural sector.

This discussion leads to an interesting contrast between the comprador in nineteenth-century China and the landlord in Meiji Japan. The Japanese landlord played a double role in the successful industrialization drive. As an entrepreneur in the agricultural sector he was responsible for promoting productivity growth and generating an agricultural surplus; as an entrepreneur in the industrial sector he performed the function of converting the surplus into industrial investment. The comprador in China, though he may have been instrumental in channelizing a part of the agricultural surplus to industry, made no effort to improve agricultural productivity.

Whatever contributions may have been made by foreign trade and the comprador toward economic growth, as Professor Hao maintains, the growth was largely limited to the treaty ports without significant spread effects on the vast agricultural sector. To evaluate the contribution of the comprador to Chinese economic development in proper perspective one needs to examine his role as a bridge not only between East and West but also between industry and agriculture.

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FRANK H. H. KING. *A Concise Economic History of Modern China (1840–1961).* [New York:] Praeger. 1969. Pp. x, 243. $7.50.

In spite of its title this book does not offer a balanced account of the economic developments of modern China. It is rather a collection of remarks on a wide range of topics whose relevance to the Chinese economy is at times only indirect. Moreover, the treatment of such topics is very uneven. Thus, the spread of Anglo-Indian banking institutions to China receives far more attention than the development of banking in China, and traditional politics is discussed at greater length than industrial growth in the modern period. In his preface Dr. King justifies his "varying emphases" by gaps in our knowledge of China, resulting from the imperfect state of research and by the "different economic questions which appear of major interest" as we move from one period to another. Yet, neither of these reasons can be accepted without challenge. The fact that each era has its peculiar problems does not eliminate the need to study such perennial top-

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ics as industry, commerce, or agriculture, and if the gaps in our knowledge are as great as the author claims, clearly no general economic history should be attempted at this stage.

The book can also be criticized on more specific grounds. The author wrongly implies that taxes assessed in taels were collected entirely in copper (p. 35), and he also seems to think that the shift of foreign trade north from Canton was the main, or at least an important, cause of the Taiping rebellion (p. 18). Most specialists on that subject would probably dispute that. In regard to Sun Yat-sen, whom he discusses at great length, King attributes the man's lack of economic sophistication to the weaknesses of the science of economics at the time (p. 107). But since Sun is not known to have contacted contemporary economists or, indeed, to have pursued economics seriously, one may differ with King on the origin of Sun's weakness, even if one could agree with him on the propriety of such a discussion in a concise economic history.

Besides an astoundingly large amount of misprints, footnotes are lacking in this book, and statements are often so truncated as to make little sense. An example is the statement that except for the two years 1956–57 changes in government were not the key to an understanding of China's economic history (p. 3). This passage leaves the reader completely puzzled as to Dr. King's view of the years 1958–61. Was there no economic planning in these years, or was the Peking regime totally ineffective in this period? In either case, changes in government would still seem to affect economic events.

Many other passages are simply unreadable because the writing is too unpolished; for example, one reads (on p. 15): "That it was part of such a system is manifest from an understanding of this corruption not as something outside the system but as a shading growing out of the system and being rather an unacceptable growth of what was otherwise permissible than something distinct and objectively ascertainable."

To be fair to Dr. King, the book is not devoid of delightful insights. For instance, he sees the traditional Chinese government as a legalistic bulwark against the decline in Confucian virtue, and he is also aware that the emperor was at times helpless in the initiation of policy. In the realm of foreign relations, King recognizes that Westerners did not always dispense wise or even practical advice to China. (Commonplace as the last statement may sound to a layman, it is rarely found in Western works on China.) It is a pity that the book was published in its present form. Had the author deleted certain parts, expanded others, and improved his style, he could have produced a major work—not necessarily in economic history but certainly of value to students of China.

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YING-WAN CHENG. *Postal Communication in China and Its Modernization, 1860–1896.* (Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 34.) [Cambridge, Mass.:] East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1970. Pp. xii, 150. $3.50.

A major development in the background of twentieth-century China was the expanded facilities for communication, making possible greater national cohesion and the spread of knowledge, ideas, and commerce. Postal communication, a matter so basic that one is likely to forget that it cannot be taken for granted, is the subject of Miss Cheng's very fine monograph. She presents a near definitive picture of the Chinese postal institutions in the last decades of the nineteenth century—the ancient official post, with its mounted and foot carriers in round-the-clock relay, carrying exclusively government documents; the rapidly expanding commercial letter agencies, serving merchants, city dwellers, and the incipient Chinese-language press; the postal establishments of several foreign nations at the treaty ports; and, beginning in 1878, a limited postal service organized by Robert Hart of the Chinese maritime customs, for Peking and the treaty ports. Miss Cheng's account of these independent services, as well as her data on postal routes, rates, and speed of delivery, provide an index to the degree to which the vast empire was or was not an integrated nation. Judiciously written and tightly organized, the monograph takes as its major focus the proposals for a unified national postal system and the reasons why they were

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not adopted until as late as 1896. It is quite clear that the initiative for reform lay with Robert Hart and his colleagues in the customs service. As early as 1861, Hart had made the proposals to the Tsungli Yamen. But it was not until the late 1870s that some Chinese (still very few) joined in the advocacy. Miss Cheng cites a variety of reasons why approval of Hart's suggestions was long withheld. The government was unwilling to abandon the time-honored official post or to tamper with the seemingly efficient commercial letter agencies. In its august aloofness toward the populace it was unaccustomed to the role of letter carrier for the public. Miss Gheng implies—and here I have some reservations—that such obstacles, as well as financial and other problems, could have been overcome "if the ministers [of the Tsungli Yamen] were determined to have a post office." The fact remains that such determination was lacking. In the end it was the support of high provincial officials, given in the face of further expansion of Western postal establishments on Chinese soil, that disposed the Yamen toward Hart's plans; and it was not until after the Sino-Japanese War that imperial sanction was given. Even then, the new postal administration (that was to coexist with the official post) was to be entrusted to the management of Hart and his customs machinery.

Aside from its institutional and statistical data, the study thus probes into the complex roles that the West (and the Westerners) played in introducing essential innovations into Chinese life. It is to be hoped that Miss Cheng or others will pursue the story into the next phase: the development of the new postal system and its effects upon the Chinese society at large.

KWANG-CHING LIU
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RAMON H. MYERS. *The Chinese Peasant Economy: Agricultural Development in Hopei and Shantung, 1890–1949.* (Harvard East Asian Series 47.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 394. $12.00.

Contradictions infest our understanding of pre-1949 rural China. Marxist-influenced rural surveyors and rhetoricians picture a rural China dominated by landlords, merchants, and moneylenders, a class society whose poor peasants were doomed to poverty by the control of local elites and external forces who took whatever surplus they produced. Other surveyors (notably J. L. Buck) present a rural China in which the essential problem was low productivity, not distribution. Eschewing mention of classes or political-social control, this approach argues that technological improvement and better farm management would increase productivity and peasant well being.

Which is the "real" rural China? Are both somehow partial visions of reality and eventually reconcilable? Ramon Myers' book comes down on the side of Buck and farm management. It is, in fact, the most comprehensive and satisfying statement of this viewpoint to appear. This is because Myers has put to good use the results of the North China rural surveys made by the Japanese in areas they controlled between 1939 and 1943. These materials, not hitherto used comprehensively by non-Japanese scholars, greatly enlarge our time and relationship perspectives. They consist of interview responses in which peasants recall and explain both their domestic and external economic relationships over a span of many decades. With all the limitations of interview material, especially under these conditions, this information is unique in its historical coverage and the rigor of its collection. Myers has used the data from four North China villages and a wide range of more general literature to make generalizations we will be commenting on for some time.

Myers' approach is clearly economic. There is no discussion of class analysis, even to refute it, and relationships between and among peasants, landlords, and merchants are treated in their economic dimensions only. The picture that emerges is strangely benign and unreal. We may readily accept the peasant's economic rationality but retain reservations about whether everything economic he did was merely rational choice among purely economic alternatives. Clearly, improved technology was needed, but was that all? Peasants who joined the Communists apparently did not think so.

North China was not typical; but neither was any other China. I hope this important regional study will be followed by others that do as well as Myers with the economics but tackle

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economics-related social and political questions as well.

EDGAR WICKBERG
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CHARLOTTE FURTH. *Ting Wen-chiang: Science and China's New Culture.* (Harvard East Asian Series, Number 42.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. vii, 307. $10.00.

The enthusiasm of Chinese intellectuals for science, or more generally for what they extolled as the "scientific attitude," is a well-known feature of the intellectual history of the first half of the twentieth century. Ting Wen-chiang (V. K. Ting, 1887–1936) was the first Chinese to expound the case for a scientific world view on the basis of a prolonged and extensive scientific education. (He received a B.S. in zoology and geology from Glasgow University in 1911.) Mrs. Furth's lucid, sensitive, and penetrating biography is therefore the first study to probe in depth the intellectual possibilities that science offered not merely as a vaguely understood nostrum or a rhetorical catchword but as "an intellectual enterprise of unique moral seriousness and comprehensive relevance to human affairs."

It was a commitment to science viewed in this light that Ting attempted to communicate by word and deed to his fellow countrymen as an imaginative educator, a successful scientific researcher and administrator, and an outspoken and ultimately unsuccessful advocate of liberal social and political causes. With admirable perception Mrs. Furth examines the intellectual implications of his belief in the social utility of criticism and the final authority of reason, and she analyses the benign authoritarianism to which it led in an era of profound social and political upheaval. In his unflagging physical energy, his self-confident entrepreneurial style of life and work, and his conscious adherence to a Confucian-inspired doctrine of altruistic public service, Ting was perhaps less typical of the academic liberals with whom he was associated than Mrs. Furth suggests. Nevertheless, her critical understanding of the values that shaped Ting's beliefs and aspirations, together with her skill in evoking the personal and historical forces that governed his actions, make this book a substantial and most valuable contribution to the literature on China's agonizing intellectual transformation in the modern age.

JEROME B. GRIEDER
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RICHARD H. MINEAR. *Japanese Tradition and Western Law: Emperor, State, and Law in the Thought of Hozumi Yatsuka.* (Harvard East Asian Series, Number 48.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. 244. $9.00.

An important part of Japan's effort to build a modern nation-state was the assimilation of Western concepts of law. Professor Minear's book attempts to understand this process through a study of the thought of Hozumi Yatsuka, a professor of public law at Tokyo Imperial University from 1889 to 1912 and dean of the law faculty for fourteen of those years, who formulated theories of the Japanese state that had wide influence in the formative stage of modern law in Japan.

Minear, whose approach is essentially that of pure intellectual history, concentrates on tracing the derivation of Hozumi's ideas and on analyzing their intrinsic quality. He shows how legal positivism, and particularly Paul Laband, influenced Hozumi during his student days in Tokyo and Germany and provided a theoretical framework for interpreting the Meiji state. But Hozumi departed from positivism in his unwillingness to separate law from ethics; for the more lasting influences, the author argues, were the *kokugaku* and *Mitogaku* traditions of his family. From them he inherited his conception of the Japanese state as a moral order, founded on distinctive and immutable principles, in which "the Emperor is not only the sovereign whose command is law: he is also morality incarnate, the living representative of the Sun Goddess." Minear demonstrates how Hozumi rephrases in Western legal terms traditional attitudes toward the emperor, and how in the process a valid conception of law is lost. Hozumi's ideas become "the means whereby Japanese tradition seeks to filter out the core of the Western legal tradition, leaving only a pseudo-positivist shell." The author's final judgment is harsh but forthright. Hozumi made no clear contribution to acceptance of Western legal concepts: "Hozumi represents in modern

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Japanese law not a bridge to something new but a dead end"; and his ideas were partly responsible for the antiparliamentary movement that eventually destroyed party government in the 1930s.

With regard, however, to the fundamental questions of why a highly educated legal scholar succumbed to "a crude cultural nativism" and why his views gained wide acceptance, the author is less clear. Except to show in a general way that Hozumi's ideas were rooted in Tokugawa intellectual tradition, Minear, feeling that such questions lie beyond the competence of the intellectual historian, is content to leave their answers "to sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and psychologists." In part this cautiousness may be justified by the paucity of biographical material available on Hozumi, but one feels that the author might have elucidated these questions had he attempted to relate Hozumi's ideas to political and social movements at the turn of the century. The reader may conclude that Minear has done well within the limits he set for himself but that these limits were somewhat narrow.

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AMERICAS

MARCUS CUNLIFFE and ROBIN W. WINKS, editors. *Pastmasters: Some Essays on American Historians.* New York: Harper and Row. 1969. Pp. xv, 492. $10.00.

"Our primary desire," write the editors of *Pastmasters*, "is to show some of the ways by which American scholars have attempted to account to themselves for their own social environment." Whether or not all of the contributors took this hint that they should search especially for present-mindedness in the subjects of their essays one cannot be sure, particularly because several of the essays stress quite different qualities. Nevertheless a remarkable feature of most of the thirteen essays in the Cunliffe-Winks book is the recurrent depiction of American historians ransacking the past in order to establish "values" and "lessons" for the present and future. Again, the editors decided not to organize their book in terms of "schools" and "movements" but to treat individuals as such, because "historians, like other men, are apt to modulate from one viewpoint to another, to change their minds, and so apparently to contradict themselves." Despite this humanist principle *Pastmasters* is so liberally sprinkled with descriptions of the lines of influence running so undeniably through the community of American historians that the reader's mind seeks automatically to define the "schools" and "movements" whose definition the editors have consciously rejected. Thus, while Professors Cunliffe and Winks eschewed the method of organizing their subjects into "schools," it may well be that their volume would have more coherence if they had encouraged in their contributors a freer play of the modern historian's instinct to do just that.

Despite these preliminary reflections, *Pastmasters* is a fascinating book both for the aspiring and the established professional historian. Indeed, given the paucity of book-length treatments of American historiography and the perhaps unhappy tendency to turn Ph.D. examinations into exercises in historiography, it is predictable that *Pastmasters* will at once join Bellott, Kraus, Higham, Wish, Hutchinson, and the articles (both scattered and collected) that are already essential reading for doctoral candidates. Electing to treat relatively few historians, while also spanning the full range of American history, the editors followed a rule of thumb that both their contributors and their subjects should be "professional historians" and that they should be representative in the sense that their work has had weight and influence. Even this rule was not followed religiously. While some of the resulting choices will appear to some to be arbitary and to others whimsical, few readers will question many of the choices, and most will agree that arbitary exclusion of some obvious candidates is preferable to the more cursory treatment that would have been dictated by making the volume more comprehensive.

It is clear that danger lurked in the editorial prescription that biographical analysis (to show the "special personal quality of each particular historian") should be a prominent aspect of the assessment of the historian's work. In several of the essays this difficult demand has been met brilliantly, as in W. R. Taylor's deft interweaving of personality, period, goal, and method to explain both the achievement and the defects of

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Parkman's historical scholarship. In two or three of the essays, on the other hand, and particularly in H. C. Allen's on Bemis, the double requirement apparently invited resort to discursive reflections rather than sustained analysis of the essay's subject. On balance, however, the contributors have done justice both to the editors and to their own subjects. That five of the thirteen essayists are British reflects the intention of the editors to add "an extra element of distance, impartiality, independence." As J. R. Pole's superb chapter on Daniel Boorstin suggests, however, distance may actually heighten a sense of involvement in the debates about American history, while David Potter's equally successful essay on C. Vann Woodward indicates that nearness does not necessarily rob one of impartiality.

In view of the spirited current debate about present-mindedness in phrasing the questions to be asked about the past, the recurrence of the theme in these essays is nothing short of startling. It is almost as if the spirit of Lord Bolingbroke had joined hands with that of the radical caucus to preside over the history of American history. Taylor reminds us of Parkman's intense concern with "the debility of the genteel classes" and his hope that his kind of history would goad members of those classes to throw up leadership of the sort that he was busy depicting. J. C. Levenson stresses Henry Adams' involvement with the present and his belief that "it is the urgent pressure of unsolved problems that leads to the search for a relevant past." Howard Lamar could not, of course, have evaded this aspect of Turner, and he remarks that "Turner's real purpose, however, was to explain Midwestern Populism to a hostile East." Forrest McDonald's freshly perceptive and balanced essay on Beard, while defending Beard effectively against the charge of inconsistency flowing from senility, has again to emphasize his search for historical proof of his own prior conceptions about power and property. Ralph Gabriel's complex and careful account of Parrington has still to see *Main Currents* essentially as a searching of history to illustrate the perennial conflict of Jefferson and Hamilton and to draw for his own day the lessons of Jeffersonianism. Even of Perry Miller, perhaps the least present-minded of the thirteen, Robert Middlekauff writes: "It was Miller's preoccupation with the modern world that sent him into the past." While J. R. Pole emphasizes Daniel Boorstin's constant concern with facts (a feature that distinguishes Boorstin as a consensus historian from the more ideologically centered Hofstadter and Hartz) and his insistence on distinguishing "between the past and the present," he too stresses Boorstin's urgent need to draw from the past either justification or instruction for the present. Maldwyn Jones's thorough analysis of Handlin's work leaves no doubt of Handlin's growing concern to relate past and present; he quoted Handlin thus: "they [his writings on racism] were all composed by an historian who searched the record of the past for clues to the problems of the present." A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., treating Richard Hofstadter as an increasingly disillusioned disciple of Beard ("minds like Beard . . . perform services even when they are wrong") and thus dedicated to minimizing political conflict and stressing "the common climate of American opinion," underlines Hofstadter's use of the social sciences not only to explain "status anxieties" and "psychic crises" in the past but also "pseudo-conservative politics" in the present. Sir Denis Brogan's subtle discussion of David Potter examines particularly Potter's fight against determinism but also shows Potter's concern to draw lines from Senator Crittenden to the present with such remarks as "the historians who believe so zealously in the virtue of facing up to issues in the past ought not to believe in the expedients of peace in the present." Marcus Cunliffe's review of A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., while delineating the influences that inclined Schlesinger to an active role in contemporary politics, observes that "in *The Age of Jackson* it could be said that Schlesinger voted for Roosevelt." David Potter's essay on Woodward (like several others in this book) is alone justification of the volume, and, quite apart from Woodward's nearly definitive reinterpretation of the New South, the evidence of his concern that history should inform the present while the present should define our historical questions, walks large across nearly all that he has written.

Other unifying themes—determinism and exceptionalism, for example—will suggest themselves to readers of *Pastmasters,* but these may be left to the lethal cross fire of a thousand

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Ph.D. orals. Meanwhile one can welcome the publication of an extraordinarily stimulating book about American historians.

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WALTER RUNDELL, JR. *In Pursuit of American History: Research and Training in the United States.* Foreword by JAMES B. RHOADS. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 445. $7.95.

O. LAWRENCE BURNETTE, JR. *Beneath the Footnote: A Guide to the Use and Preservation of American Historical Sources.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1969. Pp. x, 450. $10.00.

HERBERT J. BASS, edited with an introduction by. *The State of American History.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. xiv, 426. $15.00.

Historians are asking themselves fundamental questions. Is their discipline in crisis? Are they sociologists, mathematicians, scientists, littérateurs, psychologists, philosophers? Older students will remember that some of these questions troubled their generation in the 1920s. Still earlier Carl Becker saw in his contemporaries a tendency toward sociological history. Periodically self-examination has suggested the need to break out of traditional concerns and to extend the boundaries of history. But before extending boundaries one should know where he is, how he got there, and, if he is so inclined, what newer paths to follow.

In their various ways the books under review say that historians do need to tread unfamiliar ground. To aid them, Rundell and Burnette urge improving the mechanics of collecting, preserving, and disseminating historical sources. Contributors to the volume edited by Bass are concerned with the more imaginative use of these sources.

Professor Rundell, assisted by a grant from the Ford Foundation, undertook a "survey of the use of original documentary source materials in the teaching of American history at graduate levels." Over 550 interviews with professors, graduate students, librarians, and archivists at 112 institutions provided the main basis for his findings. The emphasis of his conclusions is on research training, the acquisition of skills needed by a student to practice his craft. Librarians and archivists wish that scholars had more familiarity with bibliography and finding aids, a sentiment strongly endorsed by Rundell. He recommends closer ties between academic historians and personnel in archives, museums, and historical societies. Rundell identifies three major roadblocks to more effective research: the often difficult access to original sources, an inadequate communication between academic and nonacademic historians, and a lack of training in historical methodology. Some repetition makes Rundell's book longer than it need be, but as it is it should be useful to both teachers and students for its careful charting of the routes to the region inhabited by historians.

Burnette and Rundell occasionally deal with the same topics. The former's study "is offered as a contribution to the care and use of the primary sources for American history, as a guide for neophyte, fledgling, and amateur historians to the extensive world beneath the footnote." His book, says the author, "is concerned with the origins and evolution of those institutions and practices involved in the care and use of the primary forms of American historical evidence."

What Burnette promises he delivers. What might have been a dull recital is a book filled with interesting, even fascinating, information, attractively presented. He is generous in acknowledging his dependence on the *American Archivist.* Proper tribute is paid to the prime mover in the establishment of the National Archives, J. Franklin Jameson, self-styled "midwife to historians." We are reminded that the Historical Records Survey, a project of the New Deal, amassed in a period of five years "an incredibly large collection of information, opened the records of local governments to general public use, made available the material for rewriting local history upon a sound documentary basis, and vastly stimulated good records-keeping practices."

The sheer bulk of federal records alone is overpowering in cost and space occupied. In 1940 some 340,000 employees were creating and maintaining the federal records at an annual cost of $680 million. The accumulated total of such records exceeded 18,500,000 cubic feet, equal to six Pentagons. Forty years earlier Charles Francis Adams had looked apprehensively to the future: "We are to be bankrupted

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by our possessions. . . . The question of the future relates to getting at what has been accumulated—the ready extraction of the marrow." The task of the historian, concludes Burnette, is to "facilitate the marrowing of mountainous possessions without being bankrupted by them."

Burnette remarks in his preface that "the profession in our own time is again worrying about its inner workings, about its process of discovering and proving truth, if not about its philosophical frame of reference." In their traditional adherence to descriptive history, Americans, says Burnette, have shied away from analysis. The twenty contributors to Bass's volume are strong on analysis, the temper is moderate. "They eschew that kind of historiography in which an understanding of what happened is less important than an understanding of the historian who wrote about it. . . . In a way, they take as a starting place some point beyond the now trite historiographical categories."

Even when writing in such familiar fields as political, economic, and diplomatic history the questions asked and the methodologies referred to are frequently uncommon. Fields once thought the preserves of other disciplines have been annexed by these essayists. A special feature of much of their writing is the use of quantitative material.

Space restrictions prevent more than the briefest comment on selected contributions. Richard C. Wade's "An Agenda for Urban History" is especially good, raising important questions and suggesting new research possibilities. Thomas J. McCormick's "The State of American Diplomatic History" is incisive. A. R. Millett's "American Military History: Over the Top" speaks of the American Revolution as "a people's war"; his bibliography is impressive. The iconoclastic G. H. Daniels, writing on American technology, pays tribute to earlier historians but suggests other approaches and more research. D. F. Dowd is critical of Cliometricians, the new economic historians "who have lifted off, bright and shiny, into outer space. There they orbit and would do no harm were it not that much of the training of oncoming economic historians is in their hands." Roderick Nash's "The State of Environmental History" is sensitive, treating of matters outside the ken of most historians. Robert J. Lifton believes that psychohistory "could develop into a significant body of thought," but he also guesses it "may turn out to be nothing more than a minor intellectual curiosity." On the value of quantification there is less hesitancy on the part of true believers, though they are cautioned that "to quantify historical evidence historians simply must become credible statisticians." Edward Pessen has more reservations than his colleagues. Frank Otto Gatell in "Going Beyond Jacksonian Consensus" urges that "we should be extremely cautious before we banish the conflict-with-capital factor from Jacksonian politics." Kenneth Barkin lifts the student out of parochialism with his important "Case Study in Comparative History: Populism in Germany and America." The two populisms had enough similiarities to justify the conclusion that they were "distinctive variations on a common theme."

While most of the essays are stimulating, suggesting new ways of looking at familiar themes, it should be said that some authors are not always acquainted with predecessors who wrote on similar themes. But the present writing is more vigorous, the analysis more sophisticated, the questions more probing. The answers? That is another question.

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SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. *Economics of Harvard.* (Economics Handbook Series.) New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1970. Pp. lxvii, 519. $14.50.

This is a book in "the Seymour Harris style." Anyone who has read any of the ten books Professor Harris has published on educational problems will know what I mean: an endless array of tables, quotations, and anecdotes, loosely arranged by topics and barely held together by a narrative that makes so many points that it makes none; a prodigious industry in gathering data coupled with an almost total failure to analyze anything in depth; a lifetime of accumulated notes put into print without so much as a disguise of connecting paragraphs. In the end one can only ask: "What is the point of it all?"

Worse still, this is a long book, and it is not improved by a rambling summary in forty-

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seven pages. If the reader has some definite questions in his mind about the operations of Harvard University, he may find it a useful source of information. But if he reads it because it strikes him as an interesting topic that he has never really thought about, he will put it down with a bad headache. Morison's masterful five-volume history of Harvard left many economic issues untouched. It is a pity that all this material could not have been written up by someone with an axe to grind. Any point of view, however biased and limited, would be better than Professor Harris' deadly recital of the bare facts.

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JAMES C. CURTIS and LEWIS L. GOULD, editors. *The Black Experience in America: Selected Essays.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 1970. Pp. x, 199. $6.00.

The Black Experience in America originated as a series of lectures at the University of Texas in the fall of 1968. As the combined product of nine different authors, the book reflects the weaknesses inherent in such collections. It lacks cohesiveness, and the quality is uneven. But, by and large, it is a welcome addition to a field inundated by reprints, oft-repeated anthologies and superficial, market-oriented books. Although the authors are writing on widely disparate subjects, most of them share a common concern and a common commitment. Their concern is that the surge toward civil rights and racial equality that has taken place within the last twenty-five years will again recede as it did in the 1870s. Their commitment is to a rigorous analysis of the past, using all the methodological tools and insights of the social sciences.

Of the eight essays, Henry Allen Bullock's "A Hidden Passage in the Slave Regime" is one of the more provocative. In theory, notes Bullock, slavery was a rational economic system in which the slave was nothing more than a chattel. In practice a combination of economic and emotional factors made it impossible for the slaveowner to maintain a closed system or to deny completely the humanity of the black man. In reality there were many hidden passages, Bullock shows, that allowed slaves to develop alternative roles.

"Anthropology and Negroes on the Southern Colonial Frontier," by William Willis, is another thoughtful essay. Willis gives a good analysis of the interrelationship between Western imperialism and anthropology, and he explains why American anthropologists spent little time studying the Negro in American life. Unfortunately, his analysis of racial interaction on the Southern frontier is primarily a straightforward historical discussion that exploits few of the methodological techniques or insights of anthropology.

In his lecture William S. McFeely addresses himself to five myths of the Reconstruction Era, attacking what he calls the "myth of the day of Jubilee," the "myth of the Exodus," the "Myth of Forty Acres and a Mule," and the "myth of the Menacing Black Man." McFeely succeeds in cutting away a great deal of nonsense surrounding the role of blacks in Reconstruction. In his eagerness to dispel past mythology, however, he occasionally alternates between erecting convenient straw men (these myths have not been universally accepted by historians as McFeely seems to imply) and creating countermyths. For example, while it is true that there was a sound basis for believing that land would be distributed late in the war, such hopes were quickly dispelled in the summer of 1865. These quibbles aside, McFeely's conclusions are welcome corrections to earlier distortions.

Robert Zangrando's study of the NAACP is an excellent summary of the significance of that organization and an even-handed weighing of its weaknesses and strengths. Thomas R. Cripps continues his analysis of the Negro and the motion picture industry and argues that movie producers and directors stereotyped and denigrated blacks in their motion pictures because of a combination of racism, ignorance, and timidity—not because of any significant box-office resistance by Southern movie-goers.

Of the remaining pieces, Arthur Zilversmit's contribution on the abolitionists is perhaps the least significant. The essays by Louis Harlan ("Tell It Like It Was: Suggestions on Black History") and by August Meier and Elliott Rudwick ("The Boycott Movement against Jim Crow Streetcars in the South, 1900–1906")

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are reprinted from earlier publications but both are excellent. And at a time when black history is still groping for scholarly identity, Harlan offers some sobering suggestions on the pitfalls and perils of oversimplification and distortion.

DAN T. CARTER
University of Maryland

E. R. R. GREEN, editor. *Essays in Scotch-Irish History*. (Ulster-Scot Historical Series, Number 2.) New York: Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 110. $4.50.

The five brief essays that compose this volume were delivered as papers at a symposium held at Queen's University, Belfast, in September 1965 under the auspices of the Ulster-Scot Historical Society. Chronologically, they cover the story of emigration of the Scotch-Irish from Ulster from the earliest colonial manifestations to the mid-nineteenth century. The first essay, "Woodrow Wilson and His Presbyterian Inheritance," by Arthur Link, discusses the effect of Wilson's Scottish and Protestant background on his political career. Link concludes "that in Woodrow Wilson we see almost perfectly revealed the signal Scottish and Scotch-Irish legacy to American society, culture, and politics." That legacy has been enormous, and one of the purposes of the Ulster-Scot Historical Society is to explore and describe the nature of the influence exerted by a stream of emigrants, principally from Ulster, over a period of nearly two centuries.

The term "Scotch-Irish" is of American origin. In his essay on "The Scotch-Irish: Their Cultural Adaptation and Heritage in the American Old West," E. Estyn Evans makes the point that the "Scotch-Irish in particular were anxious not to be confused with the 'famine Irish' [Catholics from South Ireland], and the term Scotch-Irish significantly became popular only after 1850; before that they were usually referred to as Irish (sometimes wild Irish) or poor Scotch." In the colonial period and down to about 1815 the emigrants from Ireland to the New World were predominantly Protestants of Scottish ancestry. One of the most significant of the essays, "Ulster Emigration, 1783–1815" by Maldwyn A. Jones, emphasizes the continuance of the Protestant migration from Northern Ireland after the American Revolution. Jones points out the concern of the British government over this drain, especially over the loss of skilled craftsmen, and the steps that the authorities took to curb emigration.

The callousness and brutality of British officialdom in dealing with the Ulster-Scots, particularly with emigrating Scotsmen, had far-reaching political effects. These emigrants arrived in America with a deep-seated hatred of England. During the Revolution they proved ardent patriots with an inveterate animosity to George III. Later they became equally ardent Jeffersonian Democrats because the Federalists were pro-English. A Connecticut Federalist after a trip through Pennsylvania remarked of the Scotch-Irish there that "they are United Irishmen, Free Masons, and the most God-provoking Democrats this side of Hell."

All of these essays are pleasant contributions; but since they are merely printed lectures, they cannot pretend to treat their subjects in depth. "Education in the American Colonies: The Impact of Scotland" by Esmond Wright, for example, skims over a terrain that has been well worked by others and does not add anything new to the story. "Ulster Emigrants' Letters" by E. R. R. Green is tantalizingly brief and can merely suggest the possibilities that lie in developing this area. The purpose of the symposium was of course to arouse interest in this subject, and one cannot ask for more in the published results of the conference. The essays are informative as far as they go, and they may lead to further investigations in this field.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT
National Geographic Society

ROBIN HIGHAM, editor. *Bayonets in the Streets: The Use of Troops in Civil Disturbances*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1969. Pp. xi, 225. $6.95.

This volume is an anthology of essays by ten writers, including the editor, on the history and current problems of the use of American troops for peacekeeping within the United States. Because it necessarily suffers from the discontinuities of an anthology in any event, it is also a pity that its contributors so uniformly represent the establishment. With no contributor to speak at all for the Left or for the blacks,

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the book presents so patently incomplete a depiction of reality that it leaves the reader feeling like one of the proverbial blind men trying to identify the elephant. The essays vary, of course, in objectivity and sophistication. James High's, on "The Marine Corps and Crowd Control: Training and Experience," is that too-familiar type of marine corps history that makes all marines look like John Wayne at his most heroic and accepts the John Waynes on their own terms. Even the more thoughtful contributions, however, such as Clarence C. Clendenen's, on "Super Police: The National Guard as a Law-Enforcement Agency in the Twentieth Century," treat occasions when the armed forces admittedly served not the general welfare but vested interests too much as aberrations and with too little regard to a passage that Arthur Ekirch quotes from Walter Millis, who reminds us that military training teaches the young "to be cooperative, obedient and docile to those who profit most from the operations of the state and have the largest voice in forming its policies."

Ekirch's essay is something of an exception to the criticism just offered, but concerned as it is with "The American Liberal Tradition and Military Affairs" rather than specifically with the use of the military in civil disturbances, it is also detached from the main theme of the rest of the book. Except for Ekirch, the contributors have strong personal military connections. In his essay "The Embryonic Revolution: Perspectives on the 1967 Riots," Roger Beaumont struggles valiantly to include the perspectives of the dispossed and discontented, but his principal concern remains with the problems of the military, and he tends to view those problems from inside.

The best and most useful contributions are probably those of Robert W. Coakley, on "Federal Use of Militia and the National Guard in Civil Disturbances: The Whiskey Rebellion to Little Rock," and Paul J. Scheips, on "Enforcement of the Federal Judicial Process by Federal Marshals: A Comparison of Little Rock and Oxford." Coakley was a historian with the Pentagon command post during the Little Rock crisis of 1957, and what he says about that crisis is drawn from his report filed with the office of the chief of military history. He is good not only on Little Rock but in comparing the work of the Regular Army and the National Guard in civil disturbances throughout American history. Among other things, Scheips explores aspects of the dilemma of men such as Robert Kennedy, reluctant to use American soldiers against American citizens during the Oxford crisis of 1962, and the apparent requirement of crowd control to move not reluctantly but quickly. Such careful research and contributions to the historical record as those of Coakley and Scheips make the book worth reading despite its limitations.

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY
Temple University

MARTIN E. MARTY. *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America.* (Two Centuries of American Life: A Bicentennial Series.) New York: Dial Press. 1970. Pp. 295. $8.95.

To "Middle America" this book will seem a slander upon American Protestantism, better entitled "Self-righteous Empire." But most academic readers will probably find it an accurate assessment of the shortcomings, past and present, of the nation's dominant religious groups. Like everything Marty has written, this book is timely, provocative, and colorful; it is the first post-Protestant history of American Protestantism. Its first three chapters set the tone: "The Removal of the Native American"—"I don't go so far as to think that the only good Indians are the dead Indians, but I believe nine out of ten are, and I shouldn't inquire too closely into the case of the tenth" (Theodore Roosevelt); "The White Anglo-Saxon"—"Our national character is that of the Anglo-Saxon race" (Robert Baird); "The Black American"—"Christianity does not make the least alteration in civil property" (the Bishop of London).

Concerned only with Protestantism and starting essentially in 1776, the book is divided into the traditional pre- and post-Civil War eras. In part 1 the "mainline" Protestants (Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, Disciple) consciously create a spiritual and temporal "empire": they come to terms with separation of church and state, adopt a congregational polity, thrive on denominational competition, provide a rationale for westward expansion (running roughshod

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as "God's chosen" over the lesser races), and rally against subverting aliens from without and moral decay within. Expecting perfection and the millennium, Protestantism established a national identity built upon the Calvinist ethic, shaped the ethos, mores, manners, laws, and habits of the new nation, developed voluntary societies to fulfill the spiritual command to save souls and reform manners but failed signally to cope with the temporal problems of racism, sectionalism, and nascent industrialism.

In part 2 the "evangelical" credo and institutions prove inadequate to deal with the complex problems of urbanism, trade unionism, "new" immigration, Darwinism, and higher criticism. Just as earlier Protestantism divided into white and black, North and South, evangelical and un-evangelical, so post-Civil War Protestantism divided into "the old-time religion" (later neoevangelicalism) and "modernism" (Social Gospel, Christian Realism, neoorthodoxy). Over-arching these themes are the cultural corruption of Protestantism (as it equates Christianity with national destiny), the clash between individualism (premillennialism) and environmentalism (postmillennialism), and the respective roles of protestors within and outside the churches.

Marty's approach does not offer any significantly new insights; he has built his survey (without annotation) on the monographs of others. But he has avoided the bland, encyclopedic objectivism of most previous surveys. His approach is problem oriented, and the chapters are topical essays upon the major conflicts and crises. The tone is ironic, bitting, deprecatory. He has a keen eye and sharp wit for the hypocrisy, naivete, snobbishness, and unmitigated self-assurance of the lay and clerical leaders of mainline Protestantism. What such a survey perforce lacks is space to consider adequately the anguish and sincerity of those within the ranks who sense the unresolvable tension between nation building and moral idealism. Only Lincoln, a non-churchgoer, rises above the carnage. Nor is there room to consider the role of religion in consoling those racked by pain, separation, death, and anxiety in a competitive, atomistic, exploitive society. American Protestantism, like American nationalism, is a tragedy of epic proportion. Marty provides a negative view of the puberty of Christianity in America and implies it may be coming of age—perhaps too late to save the empire it built on pride.

WILLIAM G. MCLOUGHLIN
Brown University

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT. *History in the United States, 1800–1860: Its Practice and Purpose.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 239. $8.95.

This book is an attempt to explain the rise and decline of Romantic history in the United States in terms of the development of a strong historical consciousness in the literate public of the day. It is good insofar as it explores the intellectual origins of Romantic history and delineates the numerous aspects in which historical consciousness manifested itself. What is lacking is an adequate explanation of why such a consciousness developed among Americans at that particular time. The last five chapters are valuable in isolating the elements of the general consensus that bound historians and the public in a meaningful social-intellectual relationship unique in our history, and in tracing how that relationship broke down when historians began to differ on interpretations of the meanings, purposes, and methods of history. But once more, this development is treated almost entirely in intellectual terms, with little reference to the changes in American society that undermined the old consensus at nearly every level of society and in most aspects of life. There is a reference, to be sure, to the growing sectionalism that was reflected in historical writing as well as in other cultural fields, but it is incidental rather than basic. References to additional instances of division are even more fleeting. Doubtless Professor Callcott wished to avoid repetition of what has been said elsewhere, but the omission of so many socially relevant factors leaves the reader feeling that the picture presented is incomplete, valuable though it may be in many respects.

One point Callcott makes merits some attention. Historians of our day, he suggests, share with their early nineteenth-century predecessors "more than they realize . . . the idea of history instilling morality and have only substituted new values" such as "horror of war, poverty, and prejudice." No doubt this is true, but the bleak record of American historians

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relative to blacks, Indians, and the poor generally makes one wonder about the gap between professed values and their expression in historical work.

ROBERT CRUDEN
Lewis and Clark College

VINCENT P. CAROSSO. *Investment Banking in America: A History*. Research Associates, MARIAN V. SEARS and IRVING KATZ. (Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 25.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 569. $14.50.

This history of investment banking in the United States is distinctive on two counts. Both its scope and its frankly sympathetic treatment of the subject differentiate the book from earlier discussions. No other single volume brings together the institutional detail of the evolution of the industry from nineteenth-century origins through the antitrust trial of 1950. While the book is in part based upon privileged access to the files of Kidder, Peabody & Co., the principal and abundant evidence is the material uncovered by the periodic investigations to which investment bankers have been subject—the Pujo hearings in 1912, the Pecora inquiry of 1933, and the antitrust trial—sources that provide a wealth of detail concerning the operations of investment bankers.

Carosso utilizes the testimony exclusively, but with the exception of the outright Medina acquittal in 1953, is not enthusiastic about the conclusions drawn from it. Of the Pujo findings he writes: "The majority report did not prove the existence of a money trust, not even in the sense in which Untermyer defined it. . . . [It] also failed to prove that the inner group and its allies had eliminated competition in the issuing and marketing of securities." The Pecora probe receives higher marks, but "some of its conclusions were overdrawn and the impression of Wall Street malfeasance created was too sweeping." Only the Medina dismissal is accepted without caveat, having "disproved many of the misconceptions that had grown out of these earlier investigations and shattered the old myth of a Wall Street money monopoly."

The author's favorable evaluation of investment banking depends in part upon an implicit distinction between structure and performance. Concentration is ascribed by Carosso to underlying economic realities: the scarcity of capital and the economies of scale of its allocation through a handful of intermediaries. Despite such concentration, he suggests that funds were made available in larger quantities and at lower cost than had previously been possible. Such an argument, while defensible, is in fact not fully developed in the book. We are left with impressions rather than with compelling evidence concerning the satisfactory performance of the industry. There is no indication of how the greater efficiency of intermediation was divided between bankers, savers, and investors, and hence the extent to which monopoly power was exploited. Nor is the impact of finance capitalism upon industrial recipients of capital sufficiently considered. We know that the concentrated structure of production that emerged in many industries was a creature of financial manipulation rather than technology. How well did such monopolies perform, and more specifically, how did investment-bank participation in management influence them? These are among the questions to which the volume does not definitively respond. If the Pujo indictment must be rejected for lack of proof, so must Carosso's benign views be held in suspense.

To summarize, then, this is a study in which the principal contribution is the detailing of the changing internal structure of investment banking. While neglecting to explore the full ramifications of the new titans of finance, Carosso has pointed up the need for an inclusion of background economic forces in any final evaluation. Others will have to complete that task, as well as to place the continuing conflict between investment bankers and government within the more general context of the changing twentieth-century relationship between business and public authority.

ALBERT FISHLOW
University of California, Berkeley

C. K. YEARLEY. *The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental and Party Finance in the North, 1860–1920*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 377. $12.00.

This subtle and intelligent book traces the transformation of public taxation policy in

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the North from a reliance on the general property tax to the use of corporate and personal income taxes as major sources of governmental revenue. At the same time it explores the intimate relationship between the raising of public monies and the financing of political parties and skillfully shows how the interaction of partisan organizations and fiscal institutions shaped the outcome of campaigns for changes in the tax system between 1890 and 1920.

Middle-class complaints about the inequities of the tax burden, the widespread evasion endemic to Northern states after 1865, and pressures from an industrializing population for expanded social services resulted in a virtual breakdown of revenue gathering machinery in the Gilded Age. Intellectuals, academic experts, and the middle class responded with demands for incremental improvements in the tax structure and, eventually, for a shift to the various forms of income taxation as the basis for state and local finance. The process was complicated, and Yearley is sensitive to the diverse impact of federalism, the role of a heterogeneous business community, and the legitimate place of partisan considerations in the evolution of tax policy.

Yearley's comments on the financial side of politics are especially judicious. The organizational strength of parties, based on extralegal access to public funds, enabled them to maintain independence against infiltrators from the business world and to combat "nonpartisan" reformers who valued efficiency above a responsiveness to the wishes of the electorate. Without whitewashing the activities of urban machines and party regulars, the author understands that partisan success rested on more than boodle and patronage; it reflected an ability to master the head realities of democratic politics. These chapters contain the single best discussion of party financing in the Gilded Age, and are a brilliant analysis of the reasons for the enduring supremacy of the professional politician.

Yearley's study also contributes to the mounting scholarly rehabilitation of the fifty years after the Civil War. He aptly remarks: "While there were excesses in this period, this was not an age of excess." In the field of taxation Americans restructured their system for gathering public revenues, financed a national system of party politics, and laid the fiscal foundation for modern state governments. By describing this record of accomplishment so perceptively, Yearley has resurrected an important phase in the development of modern society and has placed historians of these years in his lasting debt.

LEWIS L. GOULD
University of Texas, Austin

PETER J. SCHMITT. *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America.* (The Urban Life in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xxiii, 230. $6.50.

DON S. KIRSCHNER. *City and Country: Rural Responses to Urbanization in the 1920s.* (Contributions in American History, Number 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1970. Pp. xx, 279. $11.50.

In recent years a number of specialized studies exploring historical attitudes toward community in America have sharply modified the long-accepted view, embodied in the whole Turnerian scheme of interpetations, that American ideology has in some way been fundamentally and consistently anti-urban. These two excellent monographs, though quite different in approach, are related in their exploration of dimensions of this larger subject. Peter J. Schmitt examines popular writing about nature, the environment, and the community in the period from the turn of the century to the First World War and offers the thesis that a "back to nature" movement took root in an America that was rapidly becoming urbanized. The movement produced an urbanized version of an Arcadian myth that de-emphasized the traditional economic and social rural versus urban divisions in American thought and society. Advocates of this new Arcadianism tried to find a means for harmonizing nature with urban life and offered definitions of the spiritual value of association with nature in an industrial society. Nature was no longer hostile or violent; it had been urbanized. Don S. Kirschner, through an intensive exploration of rural attitudes in Iowa and Illinois, argues that farmers in the 1920s suffered from real economic distress, not the status anxieties sometimes attributed to them. This economic distress intensified their cultural hostility to-

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ward the city and the forces that were a part of urban life, forces that also were beginning to transform rural society drastically.

Schmitt, in attempting to explain urban attitudes toward nature, presents a fascinating body of material from the writings and speeches of conservationists, nature writers, landscape architects, suburban planners, novelists, ministers, and leaders of youth organizations. Finding old, forgotten, anthropomorphized animal friends from standard primers ought to evoke nostalgia in anyone over forty. Schmitt unquestionably demonstrates the prevalence of a highly artificial, romanticized view of beneficent nature in early twentieth-century popular culture. But whether this view was a distinctive response to the new circumstances of urban life is debatable. Although the author recognizes the antecedents of the Arcadian views he develops, his study tends to underemphasize the consistency in American thought of a belief that nature had to be considered from an urban perspective. Charles Brockden Brown, Emerson, the mid-nineteenth-century landscape architects, and any number of others argued that city and country existed in an organic, complementary relationship, that the presence of nature provided insights vital to the organized urban community. The strength of Schmitt's work lies not in its offering a profound analysis of community ideology but rather in its providing a thorough and entertaining exploration of the presence of a significant theme regarding community in popular culture.

Kirschner's study has a similar theoretical limitation. Through examination of farm journals and meticulous legislative roll-call analysis the author has demonstrated that farmers were hostile to many aspects of life associated with the city—ethnicity, gambling, liquor—but dislike of certain features of city living do not necessarily represent a view of the city as a whole community. The author recognizes this problem, but his attempts to confront it are not altogether satisfactory (see, particularly, p. 213). He has difficulty, moreover, in distinguishing between attitudes toward cities in general and toward Chicago, a metropolis that had special symbolic significance. The structure of the book, based on economic analysis, literary examination of popular ideas, and quantification of voting patterns, occasionally seems overelaborate for an essentially limited study. Despite these reservations, the work is a careful and valuable account of rural attitudes on a number of social, economic, and cultural issues.

CHARLES N. GLAAB
University of Toledo

B. G. RUDOLPH. *From a Minyan to a Community: A History of the Jews of Syracuse.* [Syracuse:] Syracuse University Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 314. $7.50.

MAX VORSPAN and LLOYD P. GARTNER. *History of the Jews of Los Angeles.* (Regional History Series of the American Jewish History Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.) San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1970. Pp. xii, 362. $8.50.

It is difficult to review intelligently and fairly two books so disparate as those above. The Rudolph volume on Syracuse Jewry is essentially a personalized history, the story of scores of individuals and of the institutions they founded and lead. The story begins in 1839 when the first known Jewish service was conducted in the village and ends in 1969 with the ground breaking for a new two and a half-million dollar temple complex. Very few attempts are made to interpret and analyze the facts presented. Carlyle's admonition, "history is the essence of innumerable biographies," is literally applied in this book, which provides the reader with a tiresome list of biographic sketches; but no synthesis is given to distill history's essence.

On the other hand, Vorspan and Gartner's *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* is written from Allan Nevins' premise that "character study is the essence of biography" (p. v) in the sense that the character of a city may be conceived as the biography of its spiritual and cultural components. In the continuing interplay of these forces American Jewry's role in urban communities and specifically in the development of Los Angeles is significant both as part of regional history and as part of the Jewish experience.

Today Los Angeles with over 500,000 Jewish inhabitants represents America's second largest Jewish center. Much of this growth has come since World War II (150,000 in 1945, but scarcely 70,000 in 1929 and only about 2,500 in

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1900); yet the beginnings of the community go back to the days of the gold rush when some eight persons can be identified as Jews (*Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, for the Year 1850* [1929], p. 21.)

In the decade following, members of families such as the Nortons, Newmarks, and Hillmans arrived in Los Angeles. They were the merchants and bankers who were to mold the economic activities of the city. This period also saw the continuous involvement of Jewish merchants and rabbis in the civic and political life of their town; and it witnessed the beginnings of the primary Jewish community institutions —a synagogue, a cemetery, a school, and a charitable society.

When the founding age drew to its close before the turn of the century, the basic communal institutions had been supplemented by a fraternal lodge, an "upper-class" social club, a weekly newspaper (the *B'nai B'rith Messenger*), and by both orthodox and conservative synagogues, since the original synagogue had become reform.

Not all change in the Los Angeles setting constituted improvement, however. Jews had participated fully in the nineteenth-century city government and had been accepted socially; they were now displaced from their recognized status or at best confined to appointive, advisory, and technical positions. The heavy influx of Protestant Christians, frequently fundamentalist and nativist from the American Midwest, slowly altered the public tone of the city. Except for the new motion-picture industry, Jewish exclusion remained effective until after World War II, and Jewish names were prominent only within the religious and ethnic minority community, a community whose economic and cultural character began to reflect the ever increasing numbers of East European Jews. A substantial working class made a living in Los Angeles, and after 1940 a thick stratum of Jewish professional people was added to the economic layers.

The new Jewish-Gentile integration achieved after the war opened the doors of hospitals to Jewish doctors as it opened most political and executive offices in the city. This period also witnessed the emergence of a new Jewish community that had successfuly overcome the stagnation reached a generation earlier. In response to ever increasing demands both local and overseas, the community created a plethora of agencies; at the same time it unified its philanthropic and cultural apparatus and projected a new group of men and women into positions of leadership.

The last part of the book suffers from an abundance of organizational detail, most of which cannot be properly evaluated since the events described occurred during the past quarter century. The authors were successful in writing not mythology but history; their work did not degenerate into a "Who's Who" of local philanthropists, first families, and leading professionals. Fewer than forty living persons are mentioned in the text and similar care was taken in regard to the past. I feel that a larger portion of the book should have been assigned to the earlier decades, to the actual historic narrative and analysis in place of so much recent organizational material.

Urban history now focuses upon demographic, ecological, and technological studies, with careful attention paid to the men and women who inhabit the city. This work by Vorspan and Gartner makes a significant contribution and will take its place as one of the distinguished works of its kind.

FRANK ROSENTHAL
East Los Angeles College

STEPHEN R. FOX. *The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter.* (Studies in American Negro Life.) New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. ix, 307. $7.95.

EDWIN S. REDKEY. *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890–1910.* (Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 17. Published under the direction of the American Studies Program.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 319. $10.00.

ROBERT H. BRISBANE. *The Black Vanguard: Origins of the Negro Social Revolution 1900–1960.* Valley Forge: Judson Press. 1970. Pp. 285. $6.95.

The more historians continue to study the black man's plight in America and past attempts made by members of both races seeking justice for him, the more we are struck by the continuing enormity of our American dilemma. The gamut of present-day attempts to end the injustices, whether through black nationalist militant and separatist tactics or through inte-

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gration, are as old as our nation's history. Two earlier volumes focusing on the pre-Civil War crusade against slavery and Jim Crowism in the North (Carleton Mabee's *Black Freedom* and Benjamin Quarles' *Black Abolitionists*) are sufficient illustrations of the trials, tribulations, and limited successes of the reformers in their quest for racial equality. The three books here under review reaffirm this dilemma.

Stephen R. Fox writes sympathetically but judiciously of William Monroe Trotter—a solid middle-class Bostonian, the first black graduate of Harvard University elected to Phi Beta Kappa, a man who could have led a comfortable life as a real-estate broker but chose instead to fight through his weekly newspaper The Boston *Guardian* for the black man's right to live in an integrated America. Trotter is excellently portrayed as the attempted giant killer, challenging Booker T. Washington and his accommodationist philosophy and doing so three years before the more celebrated W. E. B. Du Bois joined in the fray with his publication *The Souls of Black Folk*. The Boston editor was caustic and fearless in his attacks on the "Tuskegee Machine" and unwavering in his commitment to equal rights, so much so that on occasion he believed that he and only he knew the right path to take toward equality.

Fox wisely has alloted major coverage in the volume to the first decade of the 1900s when Trotter's journalistic influence was greatest. By 1910, with the waning of Booker T. Washington's political strength, resulting in part from the black man's growing disillusionment with the Roosevelt-Taft presidencies as well as with the establishment of the NAACP, Trotter's most effective work had been done. Nevertheless, he was reluctant to accept commands from others, particularly from white-led organizations. As a result he founded the National Equal Rights League; ineffectual though it was, Trotter clung to it, believing firmly that blacks should control at least one of their own groups in the battle for equal rights.

The *Guardian* never realized the profits of Robert Abbott's Chicago *Defender* or Carl Murphy's *Afro-American* and Robert L. Vann's Pittsburgh *Courier*. Far from it. Trotter, a poor businessman who was unconcerned with profits, spent all of his time crusading, paying little attention to the mundane necessities of financing his weekly. He poured all his money, including savings and property, into the *Guardian*. Much of the financial suffering was borne patiently and willingly by his devoted wife Deenie.

In one of the most touching sections of his biography Fox describes compassionately Trotter's life after 1919, including an abortive attempt to gain justice for blacks at the Versailles Peace Conference. Thereafter, Trotter was almost completely bypassed nationally as a major black spokesman. "Old Mon" was a minor institution in the Boston black community; but as the years passed he was also regarded as something of an eccentric and a figure of curiosity. Undaunted, he plodded on, seeking paltry sums of money owed him to continue his life's work in his beloved *Guardian*. Like so many men of his stature, he died a relatively unheralded figure. Fox's work does much to place this journalistic giant into the position of prominence he rightfully deserves.

Edwin S. Redkey's scholarly account of the "Back-to-Africa" movement should become the definitive work of another familiar and important attempt toward the black man's liberation. It seemed natural that this nationalistic drive should be widespread during the 1890s in the predominantly agrarian South and Southwest. Legislated segregation was rampant, physical abuse was severely meted out to blacks, and economic depression beset oppressed black tenant farmers. According to Redkey, the movement was aided monetarily in part by whites, particularly through the American Colonization Society and the International Immigration Society, who saw colonization, or ridding the nation of its blacks, as the answer to the race question. The brunt of the movement, however, was black led and financed. Directed primarily by Henry M. Turner, bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, blacks envisioned emigration to the promised land as their salvation. Far from being the dark continent, Africa was the ancestral sanctuary to black Americans who were bitter and disillusioned at the treatment they received in the United States.

Redkey's work is a study of frustration and failure. Similar to the emigration hopes of the early 1800s, the late nineteenth-century attempts failed miserably, and only a negligible

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number of blacks migrated to Africa. Unfortunately, the type of emigrants and financial backers most needed to make the movement a success—the rising middle class, the leading political and intellectual figures—were the very people who opposed it most strongly. For example, until his death in 1895, Frederick Douglass was the most outspoken critic of migration, insisting that America was the black man's home. Bishop Turner was perhaps the only man in the back-to-Africa drive considered to be an intellectual, and despite his total commitment and zealous enthusiasm for the cause, the burden of leadership was too much even for him to bear. The uneducated, lower-class black tenant farmers, "the people of the 'mud-sill' of American society," were those who replied to the recruitment cries. Not only were they unable to bear the financial burdens, but they were unskilled for the rigors of African colonization that lay ahead. In some instances the mismanagement of embarkation plans and the fraudulent capitalizing on the gullibility of the uneducated poor by men such as Benjamin Gaston and his Free Congo State scheme were so blatant that they would have been humorous had they not affected so tragically the lives of the innocent hopefuls. Despite the failures, the attempts continued for almost two generations, further driving home the point that blacks would resort to such extreme and problematical means to release themselves from the yoke of oppression.

The Black Vanguard by Brisbane is a general survey of the various approaches and techniques utilized during the past seventy years in quest of racial equality and should interest the general reader more than the scholar. Most of the topics discussed, such as the Marcus Garvey movement, A. Philip Randolph's proposed march on Washington in 1941, the politics of the FEPC, and the judicial assault on the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision, have been dealt with effectively in other works. One of his more original topics, militancy on the black campus during the mid-1920s, if properly developed could have become a worthwhile contribution. But his scant coverage of sporadic attempts made at Fisk, Howard, and Lincoln Universities and at Hampton Institute for more black faculty and administrators, better dining conditions, and less restrictive attendance laws relating to ROTC drills and physical education classes, appears inadequate to substantiate his theme. While Brisbane's volume is of some use, Fox and Redkey have made more substantial and timely contributions to our understanding of the efforts and frustrations of blacks since the 1890s.

ANDREW BUNI
Boston College

LAWRENCE J. FRIEDMAN. *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South.* Spectrum Book. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. vii, 184. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.45.

Lawrence Friedman's slim volume represents the farthest reach yet of a growing body of revisionist literature that bears critically on C. Vann Woodward's relatively optimistic assessment—particularly as advanced in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955)—of the latent liberalism in the Southern legacy. The thrust of recent research in race relations in the postbellum South by Joel Williamson, Charles Crowe, I. A. Newby, Claude Nolen, and Paul Gaston has been to minimize, however regretfully, the salience and viability of Woodward's "forgotten alternatives." Complaining that these studies have focused disproportionately on the secondary question of segregation or integration, Friedman addresses himself instead to James Baldwin's question: "I am not a nigger. I am a man. And the question is why do you need a nigger?"

The conceptual framework of Friedman's response is consciously psychohistorical, and he acknowledges his debt in this regard to Kai Erikson and Roy Harvey Pearce. His thesis is that, torn between two contradictory models of race relations—proslavery George Fitzhugh's "integrated subservience" and Negrophobe Hinton Helper's exclusionism—post-bellum whites attempted to resolve the contradiction by evolving a pattern of "differential segregation" in the tradition of Parson Brownlow, which would exclude "uppity Negroes" but integrate with docile Uncle Toms. Why? Because "the presence of servile Negroes allowed [men like] Brownlow, Watterson, Page, and Watson to break momentarily from the restraints of a nervous, urbanizing, industrializing, frightening, ever-changing white society. In Uncle Tom's

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presence, they could release repressed desires while ignoring the consequences of their crudity" (p. 113).

But the attempt was doomed by a dual conflict. On the one hand black noncooperation through increasing assertiveness, cohesion, and secrecy blunted the old intimacy—although the blacks' economic self-segregation failed, and their frenetic search for a proud historical identity generated its own fantastic myths, sexism, and growing despair. (Friedman is hard on everybody, writing, he admits, from the cynical perspectives of the late 1960s.) The Brownlow tradition failed also, as urbanization, the myth of the diseased Negro, and the ineluctable logic of Jim Crow led not to differential segregation but to a rigidifying caste system that culminated in the Wilsonian triumph, *The Birth of A Nation,* and a contagion of race riots. By World War I "white savagery reigned supreme." Such a bold thesis cannot be conclusively substantiated in a book of 172 pages, nor can it properly be assessed in a 400-word review, but *The White Savage,* if not altogether convincing, is nevertheless widely grounded in the primary sources and makes compelling reading.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
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WILLIAM CURRY HOLDEN. *The Espuela Land and Cattle Company: A Study of a Foreign-Owned Ranch in Texas.* Foreword by JOE B. FRANTZ. Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1970. Pp. xv, 268. $9.00.

A person does not have to grow up in the West to be intrigued by the development of ranches. In fact, since most people have seen countless "horse operas" and read romanticized stories of cowboys, they are probably more intrigued than those who grew up working at the string of unpleasant tasks that drains some of the pleasure out of working cattle. Holden's book on the Spur Ranch should be a boon both to the person who has learned about the West vicariously and to the one who knows the sweat and the risk involved in running stock.

A. M. Britton of Denver and S. W. Lomax from Missouri organized the Matador Ranch in 1881 and two years later sold it at a handsome price to a Scotch syndicate. These two men then organized a corporation they called the Espuela (spur) Cattle Company after purchasing a herd bearing the spur brand from two West Texas ranchers. After acquiring land and other herds and hoping to turn another quick profit, Colonel Britton hurried to England to seek a buyer. He found a group of gentlemen, willing to pay his price, who quickly organized as the Espuela Land and Cattle Company, Ltd., of London. The new owners took over operations on April 9, 1885. Holden tells the story of the English company's efforts to profit from its investment and the problems encountered by its three managers before the company sold out to other interests in 1907.

After publishing a thin volume entitled *The Spur Ranch* in 1934, Holden discovered new records of the London Company, including copies of letters and reports, day books, journals, ledgers, payroll books, tally books, diaries, and weather records. He revised the twelve chapters of the older book and added nine new chapters. An epilogue presents a brief summary of what happened to the ranch after the English Company sold it in 1907. The book has an appendix containing material on windmills and brands purchased by the Espuela Cattle Company, an excellent bibliography, and some very fine pictures. The map under the front and back covers is useful; however, it would have been of greater value to many readers if the author had provided more detailed maps of the many places he mentions throughout his story.

This is a valuable study for anyone interested in ranching, Texas history, business history, or history of the West in general. Reading these pages, one can better appreciate the other ranches that developed throughout the West, as well as the contributions of foreign investment during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

JIM B. PEARSON
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ARTHUR S. LINK *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Volume 7, *1890–1892*; Volume 8, *1892–1894*. (Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1969; 1970. Pp. xiii, 668; xiii, 713. $15.00 each.

It is impossible in a brief review to say all that can be said about the wealth of material in the

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latest two volumes of Wilson papers, produced by the team of editors headed by Arthur Link. First, then, let me join reviewers of the earlier volumes in applauding the meticulous scholarly and technical job that the editors continue to do, not merely in putting together the papers at their disposal but also in tracking down and transmitting data about the issues and individuals mentioned or alluded to in the papers. Beyond that, my comments must be necessarily random.

From these volumes it would seem clear that Wilson's political attitudes were already well set by the early 1890s. Students familiar with Wilson's presidency will probably find few surprises and much to confirm their assessments of Wilson-the-Progressive by looking now at these earlier writings. We even find him writing in 1891: "It is not in being let alone by government that my liberty consists, but in being assisted by government to maintain *my equal place* among my fellows." This statement precisely anticipates Wilson's 1912 campaign statement, referring to the threat by the trusts to individual liberty: "Freedom today is something more than being let alone." On the other hand, for those who usually view Wilson as the "Jefferson" of the Progressive era, as opposed to the "Hamiltonian" Theodore Roosevelt, it may come as a surprise to read Wilson's exclusion of Jefferson from his "Calendar of Great Americans." Hamilton himself, as well as John Marshall, Daniel Webster, and the James Madison of *The Federalist Papers,* readily make Wilson's list, while Jefferson, he writes, "brought a foreign product of thought [French philosophy] to a market where no natural or wholesome demand for it could exist. . . . It was un-American in being abstract, sentimental, rationalistic, rather than practical."

Jeffersonian or otherwise, it would seem there was a distinctly abstract and sentimental quality to Wilson's own thinking that would prove the bane of his political leadership a quarter-century on. Wilson often rhapsodized on "the beauty and the delicacy" of democracy as a society "maintained, not by armies . . . but simply by a pervasive, dominant sentiment, by a diffused, universal law-abiding sense and sentiment of duty," by a common "obedience" to "*standards of character,*" and "by our assent to the general virtue, our participation in the general *steadfastness of spirit.*" [Wilson's emphasis.] In a crucial way, Wilson's New Freedom as well as his hopes for organizing world peace in the League of Nations would founder on the ambiguity of values he presumed to be clear and fixed and on the derivative nature of qualities he assumed were intrinsic in what he called "character" and "virtue." Unwittingly, Wilson early put his finger on the nub of the problem. "Some power stronger than I am must define my rights," he wrote in 1891; "else they are measured by my might and not by my right." True enough, of course, but Wilson failed to appreciate its implications. The statement presumes not only that there is a standard of right, and of rights, on which all in the society can agree, but also that there can be a government that will somehow administer such a standard independently of the interested pressures of its separately organized constituents. Like most in his day, Wilson would never seek to untangle the intimate relationship of power and morality. "If I didn't believe," he would aver in 1914, "that the moral judgment would be . . . the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as at the tribunal of God, I could not believe in popular government." And that was always the end of it.

But to dwell on this would be to neglect the wondrously personal material in these volumes. Unlike many public persons, Wilson very decidedly did have a private life. Indeed, the passionate intensity of it may seem grotesque to some modern eyes. What should a generation weaned on *Portnoy's Complaint* think of a father such as Wilson's who would write to his son—by then a renowned professor at Princeton—regularly, and without provocation, such passages as, "Let me beg of you, my darling son, that you will so arrange your affairs as that overwork may not pull down your constitution and shake the foundations of your health"; or, "be sure, my precious Woodrow, that I love you and yours more even than you can well understand, just yet." (Mrs. Portnoy, too, would have paused pointedly before "just yet"!) There is no evidence that Thomas Woodrow Wilson ever complained. Indeed, his own letters were equally generous.

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NEMAI SADHAN BOSE. *American Attitude and Policy to the Nationalist Movement in China (1911–1921).* New Delhi: Orient Longmans. 1970. Pp. x, 282. $7.00.

Revolutionary movements, especially in the underdeveloped world, and the responses to them by the "powers" are subjects of challenge and relevance to historians today. As the writings of Akira Iriye have shown, the best work in this field is often done by the scholar who is able through background and training to bridge the "civilization gap."

Nemai Sadhan Bose, branching out from an expertise in Indian history, provides one of the first examinations of United States-Chinese relations from the perspective of revolution and the response to it. In a precise and thoughtful book, Professor Bose traces the diplomacy of the first decade of the twentieth-century Chinese revolution from the end of the Manchu dynasty to the Washington Conference.

While there is little new information revealed (in fact, Bose stays too close to official and published sources) or new characterization developed, the well-known story and personalities take on new dimensions when seen as part of a dynamic process. The decade begins with William Howard Taft's cautious nonrecognition policy, moves through Woodrow Wilson's faith in the "strong man" Yuan Shih-k'ai, and ends, almost where it started, with the dogmatic American nonrecognition of Sun Yat-sen's leadership position. Viewing both sides of the process enables Bose to conclude that a continuously misinformed American posture led to a Chinese drift toward other sources of support, especially in the Soviet Union.

Some gaps in the book are merely possibilities for further inquiry suggested by Bose's well-presented approach. For example, how would the American attitude toward China compare with that of the other industrial powers or with the United States' own position in similar situations in the same revolutionary decade in Mexico or Russia?

The book's fundamental assumption-conclusion, however, does raise some serious problems. Restricted to English-language and traditional sources, Bose's view of "attitudes" is, perhaps necessarily, a superficial one. Why was the United States "misinformed"? Bose only begins to discuss and never analyzes the pressures and interests that might have locked the United States into a certain stance. Was the United States ever as important in determining the future of China as Bose believes? Would fuller investigation of the Chinese nationalist movement reveal a character not quite so malleable to the nature of American attitudes?

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W. B. FOWLER. *British-American Relations, 1917–1918: The Role of Sir William Wiseman.* (Supplementary volume to *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.*) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. 334. $9.50.

DANIEL M. SMITH. *Aftermath of War: Bainbridge Colby and Wilsonian Diplomacy, 1920–1921.* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 80.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1970. Pp. vii, 173. $2.00.

ROSS GREGORY. *Walter Hines Page: Ambassador to the Court of St. James's.* [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky for the Organization of American Historians. 1970. Pp. xii, 236. $8.50.

The works under review are alike in that they are each policy biographies of men involved in the formulation of American foreign policy during the Wilson administration. As such, they do not attempt in-depth understanding of personalities and their times and, since the area of activity of the subjects was circumscribed either by time of service or by range of activity, none of these books yield broad perspectives of the revolutionary era of their concern. They are useful for their sifting of primary, sometimes previously unpublished, materials. Of the three, W. B. Fowler's study of Sir William Wiseman is best both for the richness of the sources used and for the insight they yield into the climate of diplomatic conflict between the British and American allies.

Because of his friendship with Colonel E. M. House and his connections in the British government, the relatively unimportant Wiseman, head of British secret service in the United States, was able to play an important role as intermediary between British and American policy makers who did not understand one another well enough to communicate accurately at a distance of three thousand miles. In some instances where disagreements were real Fowler suggests that Wiseman played some small part in re-

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defining them into manageable terms, thus minimizing conflict in such areas as the United States government's assumption of British debts to J. P. Morgan & Co., coordination of command over Allied armies in the field, and military intervention in Russia. It is diplomatic history in the traditional sense, useful in emphasizing that President Wilson's distrust of the British did not end with American entry into the war.

Fowler shows an impressive bibliography of primary and secondary sources, and his work indicates that he has mastered them insofar as they relate to Wiseman's activities. He concludes the book with an appendix of interesting extracts of Wilson-Wiseman communications from the unpublished Wiseman Papers in the Yale University Library.

Daniel M. Smith has produced a systematic study of Bainbridge Colby's brief term as secretary of state. It is particularly useful since the subject is one that has been too much neglected in the past. Colby was unique among Wilson's secretaries of state since he was the only one the president trusted to carry out his foreign policy ideas. There was little or no conflict between the two men and little opportunity for Colby to do more than carry out policies decided upon before his appointment. This did not mean that he played no part in confronting significant international situations. Particularly important were his formulation of the full and formal statement of American nonrecognition of the government of the Soviet Union and his progressive negotiations with the Mexican government to bring about recognition by the United States in return for protection of American property interests. Other important developments during Colby's term were the conflicts with former allies over commercial spheres of influence; Japan and the political deterioration in China; the renewed interest in Pan-Americanism; and the beginnings of military withdrawal from "protected" Caribbean states.

The bibliography indicates a broad coverage of primary and secondary sources and contributes to the usefulness of the study as a standard reference work for students of this period of American foreign relations.

Walter Hines Page's story as ambassador to the court of St. James's was a simple one. Adoring his friendship with Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, and his associations with the king of England and the British nobility, Page "became an Englishman"; he never understood President Wilson's neutrality policy and was properly ignored by American policy makers and eventually by the British as well. Because Page was so irrelevant, most of Ross Gregory's study is concerned with reconstructing the framework of Anglo-American relations during the neutrality period, specifically the problem of "freedom of the seas." This familiar theme is developed along the lines of traditional diplomatic history but in somewhat greater depth than usual.

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ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR., editor; STEPHEN E. AMBROSE, associate editor. *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: The War Years.* In five volumes. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, in cooperation with the Center for the Study of Recent American History at the Johns Hopkins University. 1970. Pp. xxxv, 659; vi, 665–1397; vi, 1401–2037; vi, 2041–2696; v, 414. $75.00 the set.

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE. *The Supreme Commander: The War Years of General Dwight D. Eisenhower.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1970. Pp. ix, 732. $10.00.

The appearance almost simultaneously of the five volumes of Eisenhower Papers covering the war years and the study of Eisenhower as supreme commander in World War II is of double purport to historians. The publication in only five volumes of everything vital Eisenhower wrote during wartime is a proof that in this age of proliferation the papers of public figures can be edited into meaningful form. If everything bearing Eisenhower's name had been published from the voluminous files, hundreds of volumes would have been filled. Further, the contents of the five volumes make possible a far more accurate assay than before of Eisenhower as a military leader. Ambrose, making close use of the papers and of military histories, memoirs, and interviews, has produced a first-rate account and assessment. In both *The Papers* and *The Supreme Commander* Eisenhower appears as a figure of decidedly more stature than his previous British and American critics have con-

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ceded him to be. He was a diplomatist as well as a strategist, and the quintessence of the organization man as the supreme commander of a coalition of forces numbering millions of men. He could be conciliatory and friendly with his quick grin, as has been well known, but when necessary he could also be decisive and forceful.

Chandler and his associates have innovated at several points in their editing of the Eisenhower Papers. They have begun publication with these wartime volumes, covering the period when Eisenhower first became a significant national figure and leaving for later the volumes on his developmental years. They decided to separate out from the vast corpus bearing Eisenhower's signature "only those documents which he himself had written or dictated or which he had taken a direct part in preparing" (pp. xvi). Despite the absence of initials, it was not difficult to identify these since by directive only messages "personally approved by the Supreme Commander" could be written in the first person; all others employed the passive voice. From among those using "I," "my," or "mine," the editors discarded quantities of perfunctory greetings and the like. The result is brevity, with the focus on Eisenhower rather than on his office.

One of the marked services of the editors has been to obtain the declassification of almost all of Eisenhower's important wartime papers. The editors were denied clearance of only about two per cent of the documents and had to delete only another two per cent of the material within the documents—almost all of these adverse comments on subordinate officers. The nature of this withheld material is illustrated, with the name of the officer deleted, in Ambrose's *Supreme Commander*. A division commander during the Battle of the Bulge wrote that out of his "personal and professional pride" in his performance he was asking for promotion to corps commander. Eisenhower replied, "I would be truly disturbed if I should interpret literally your statement that personal and professional pride prompted your request" (p. 597); he did not promote the general.

The annotations in the *Papers* are full enough to explain the letters, yet unobtrusive and never prolix. They are models of good editing. They cite and summarize in sufficient detail the incoming messages, which are in considerable part still classified; but perhaps the appearance of the Eisenhower Papers will hasten their declassification.

The letters, although dictated, are good reading. The clarity of the frequent and lengthy letters to General Marshall will come as a surprise to those who formed their ideas of Eisenhower's style from the ramshackle syntax of his presidential press conference remarks. In addition the early sections of the papers contain here and there Eisenhower's pungent expression of his frustrations. One of the first of these, written on January 27, 1942, amid the defeats and confusion following Pearl Harbor when Eisenhower was serving as deputy chief of the War Plans Division in the War Department, sets forth the strategy for which he was leading proponent: "Tom Handy and I stick to our idea that we must win in Europe. Joe McNarney not only agrees—but was the first one to state that the French coast *could* be successfully attacked. It's going to be one h—— of a job—but so what? We can't win by sitting on our fannies giving our stuff in driblets all over the world—with no theater getting enough. Already we're probably too late in Burma—and we'll have to hurry like hell in Ceylon" (p. 75).

It is well known that it was Eisenhower's insistence upon concentrating forces to attack the Germans in Europe that led him, step by step, from the War Department to the supreme command. There was a degree of luck in his rise, but more than that, he was the type of person that modern coalition warfare demanded. He was a staff man of proven effectiveness, loyal to his superiors, demanding yet encouraging toward his subordinates. He once remarked that he had probably been chief of staff at one or another level in the army longer than any other officer. His inspiration came not from Napoleon or Clausewitz, but rather from Fox Conner, who had been staff officer in charge of operations under Pershing in World War I. Teamwork was essential to Eisenhower, who had coached football in the 1920s. "He wanted the emphasis upon the team rather than upon the star, coordination of effort rather than flashy individual performances," Ambrose points out in *The Supreme Commander* (p. 55). In England Eisenhower said he wanted his staff living

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"together like a football team" so it could "think war, plan war, and execute war twenty-four hours a day, or at least all of our waking hours." As the captain of the team Eisenhower was himself as simple and as straightforward as his father had been in Abilene. Upon the death of his father in March 1942 he wrote a poignant note that sets forth his own standards: "My Father was buried today. I've shut off all business and visitors for thirty minutes—to have that much time, by myself, to think of him. . . . He was an uncomplaining person in the face of adversity, and such plaudits as were accorded him did not inflate his ego. His finest monument is his reputation in Abilene and Dickinson County, Kansas. His word has been his bond and accepted as such; his sterling honesty, his insistence upon the immediate payment of all debts, his pride in his independence earned for him a reputation that has profited all of us boys" (pp. 183–84). Eisenhower carried these standards through World War II, expecting them of himself and those on his team.

It was as a loyal subordinate to Marshall that Eisenhower first went to England, supposedly to prepare the way for the invasion of the Continent, which presumably Marshall would lead. It was not until December 1943 that Roosevelt decided upon Eisenhower himself as the D-Day commander. By this time Eisenhower had had much seasoning not only in running a staff but also in strategy and diplomacy.

At first Eisenhower was rather too much in awe of the austere Marshall. Perhaps it was the awe that led him to let slip the one opportunity to avoid the North African and Mediterranean ventures and concentrate upon the buildup for the Continent. The British in July 1942 would have settled for token forces to strengthen their army in Egypt; Marshall, in keeping with Pershing's insistence in World War I, would not commit American troops piecemeal to British command. Eisenhower loyally accepted Marshall's decision.

Possibly both command and troops required the seasoning of the North African campaign. It was there that Eisenhower learned from the German attack in Kasserine Pass and from his bold negotiations with the French. On the basis of this action in North Africa and Sicily he was able to assess the varying qualities of his corps commanders. When the slapping incident threatened to deprive him of Patton, whom he had long esteemed, he administered discipline but managed to keep Patton in the field. During the furor Eisenhower personally answered every letter of protest he received from the United States, explaining how essential Patton was to him. To Patton himself he wrote subsequently, "At the moment, I was more than a little annoyed with you" (p. 1576).

With the invasion of France all of Eisenhower's skills and experience received their ultimate testing. On the great debatable issues—whether or not he should have concentrated forces behind Montgomery in a great thrust into Germany in the fall of 1944, and whether he should have tried to beat the Russians to Berlin—there are ample details in the Eisenhower Papers. Further, there is a full analysis and brilliant defense in Ambrose's study. The debate on both points will continue as long as books like Liddell Hart's and the Khrushchev memoirs appear. Ambrose makes a strong case for Eisenhower's decisions—one I find convincing. At first, in the fall of 1944, Eisenhower was ambivalent in his instructions to Montgomery; when forced to do so, he became clear and firm. There were not sufficient men and supplies to back the cautious Montgomery, whatever the arguments against moving along a broad front as Eisenhower insisted. The capture of Berlin in the spring of 1945 would have cost 100,000 casualties, only to be followed by American withdrawal to predetermined lines. It would have been a staggering price to pay for a certain amount more glory.

As it was, Eisenhower's refusal to panic during the Battle of the Bulge and his quickness to capitalize upon it, together with the rapid destruction of German armies in the spring of 1945, provided acclaim enough for all the Allied forces, and for their supreme commander.

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Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945. Volume 6, *The British Commonwealth: The Far East;* Volume 8, *The Near East and Africa.* (Department of State Publications 8451 and 8427.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. vii, 1436; vii, 1339. $7.00; $6.50.

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946. Volume 5, *The British Commonwealth; West-*

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ern and Central Europe. (Department of State Publication 8453.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. xiv, 1109. $6.00.

When the laws of human behavior are codified, surely the First Law will be that people see what they want to see. Historians, no less than other people, are subject to this law, as their responses to the three volumes under review will doubtless demonstrate. These volumes contain some of the raw materials upon which both conventional and revisionist histories of postwar American foreign policy will ultimately have to be built, and there is plenty in the more than 3,800 pages of documents written by U.S. secretaries of state, ambassadors, generals, and lesser officials during 1945 and 1946 that both the standard and revisionist historians can use to support their respective interpretations of why and how the cold war emerged as it did. Conflicts with the Russians over postwar arrangements in Eastern Europe, confusion over arrangements in Korea, preoccupation with the potential of resurgent power in Germany and Japan, intimations of chaos in Greece, discussion of the future status of Indochina, proposals and counterproposals on the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine—these are but a few of the matters with which these documents are concerned and that offer pronounced traces of what later became landmarks of the cold war. And throughout—in the phrasing of conclusions, the posing of questions, the recitation of events, the expression of doubts, the formulation of aspirations—the reader can find statements and nuances that lend credence to whatever roots of postwar international conflict he may wish to discern.

In short, strain as one might to identify central and self-evident themes in these documents, one must fall back on his own conception of the early postwar months to find meaning in them. The facts of history have never spoken for themselves, and their muteness is conspicuously evident in the materials comprising these volumes. If anything, American officialdom comes out as overwhelmed by the enormity of the immediate problems with which it was confronted and far from equipped with a set of overall goals through which its responses to the various problems could be coordinated. Accordingly, I find little evidence in support of the revisionist theories; but being no freer of that First Law of human behavior than anyone else, I am obliged to repeat that a revisionist will have no difficulty finding phrases and documents to support his theories.

Although space limitations prevent description as well as analysis of the ways in which the emerging postwar world was perceived by U.S. officials in 1945 and 1946, the reader is entitled to some notion of the scope of these volumes. This can be done briefly by indicating the number of pages devoted to the various subsections around which the volumes are organized. The basis of organization is a geographic one, with each subsection being either a different region or country. The following list of subsections includes the number of pages encompassed by each given in parentheses. For 1945, volume 6, the British Commonwealth of Nations: United Kingdom (246), Australia (1), Canada (1), India (41), Ireland (1), Union of South Africa (2); the Far East: China (1), French Indochina (23), Japan (702), Korea (140), Netherlands East Indies (35), Philippine Commonwealth (47), Siam (179). For 1945, volume 8, the Near East and Africa (87): Egypt (10), Greece (261), Iran (225), Iraq (1), Liberia (14), Morocco (77), Palestine (167), Saudi Arabia (189), Syria and Lebanon (185), Turkey (93), Yemen (9). For 1946, volume 5, the British Commonwealth of Nations (50): United Kingdom (2), Australia (1), Canada (24), India (36), Ireland (7), New Zealand (1), Union of South Africa (7); Western and Central Europe (155): Austria (105), Belgium (1), Denmark (10), France (81), Germany (343), Iceland (1), Italy (129), Luxembourg (1), Netherlands (6), Norway (1), Portugal (61), Spain (68), Sweden (1), Switzerland (3).

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MICHAEL PARENTI. *The Anti-Communist Impulse*. New York: Random House. 1969. Pp. xi, 333. $7.95.

ALAN D. HARPER. *The Politics of Loyalty: The White House and the Communist Issue, 1946–1952*. (Contributions in American History, Number 2.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. xii, 318. $13.00.

Claiming to be "the first major appraisal of anti-communism as an American social phenomenon," Professor Parenti's work rests squarely on this proposition: "If America has an ideology or

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a national purpose, it is anti-communism." With this as his starting point Parenti purposely strives to be controversial by maintaining that the anti-communist impulse since 1917 has distorted American devotion to freedom, has prevented the resolution of severe domestic problems, and has undergirded a disastrous foreign policy. The direction of the book is indicated by its dedication to the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Jr., and by its opening sentence, which states that "anti-communism is the most powerful political force in the world." In the following 323 pages of disjointed but highly readable narrative, the author, a political science professor, openly admits to being "one-sided" but excuses himself on the ground that "his side" —the opposition to the "mental confinement" of anti-communist ideologues—has not yet received a fair hearing.

The result is certainly not history. It may be a well-constructed and provocative polemic, but it is a polemic all the same. In it Parenti spares no one—presidents, diplomats, military men, liberals, conservatives, the "propertied class," the CIA, the makers of napalm, and so on. His selection of materials, the authorities cited, the interpretations used, the choices of words, even the chapter headings such as "America the Virtuous" and "Civil Defense: Kill a Neighbor" are designed to strengthen his thesis and lead inevitably back to his pre-set convictions. As is often the case with such writings, the reader may violently disagree with both the method and the conclusions (as I do), only to discover that in the process he has perceived a few new "truths," has had his own ideas vigorously stimulated, and has watched some chinks appear in his own intellectual armor. Still, serious doubts remain about the scholarly validity of the entire enterprise. In the end, perhaps, Parenti's furious attack on our collective national sins (maniacal vanity, moral imperialism, unconscionable profit-seeking, among others) has its main value in demonstrating once again how selective historical evidence in addition to the trappings of scholarship can attempt to create a new orthodoxy that is even more self-righteous and mentally restricting than the old one.

In his book Professor Harper undertakes a task far less sweeping and much more manageable. Moreover, he maintains a greater degree of detachment toward his subject and exhibits no moral outrage. Writing from "the center of the stage, from the angle of vision of the man vested with ultimate executive authority," the author attempts to analyze the loyalty issue in the years 1946–52 by concentrating on President Truman's handling of the matter. Harper believes that in Truman's mind the politically exploitable fear of subversion was of equal importance with the threat of subversion itself. Beginning with the work of the Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty (1946), Harper shows how the resultant loyalty program often confused "loyalty" with "security" and opened the door for review boards to act on suspicions rather than facts. Even so, the administration's program did not satisfy hard-liners who after 1946 increasingly attacked the administration for being "soft" on Communism. The controversy over Yalta, the rape of Czechoslovakia, the HUAC disclosures, the fall of China, the Korean War, the Hiss case, and, of course, McCarthyism all conspired to exacerbate public fears and to cast further doubt on the Truman loyalty program. Subsequent congressional and administration sparring over additional loyalty legislation and the failure of the President's Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights provide the most significant pages of the work. The concluding chapter, which bears the book's subtitle, is particularly well done.

Unfortunately, except for this concluding chapter and chapters 7 and 8, on the struggles over additional loyalty legislation, there is little new here. Lengthy segments on the background of the Communist menace, on the fall of China, on Joseph McCarthy, and on the removal of MacArthur have been better told elsewhere. Such time and space could have been more profitably used in expanding the exact relationship between the White House, the various congressional factions, and the plethora of loyalty plans and proposals. The jacket blurb notwithstanding and despite his use of manuscripts in the Truman Library, Professor Harper's effort falls somewhat short of being a "profound reappraisal" of the Truman administration's activities in the loyalty area.

ROBERT K. MURRAY
Pennsylvania State University

RICHARD G. HEWLETT and FRANCIS DUNCAN. *Atomic Shield, 1947/1952.* (A History of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Volume 2.)

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University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 718. $11.95.

RAYMOND W. TAYLOR and SAMUEL W. TAYLOR. *Uranium Fever: Or No Talk under $1 Million.* [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. xi, 400. $8.95.

Atomic Shield is the second volume of a multivolume history of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. The first volume, covering the years 1939–46, was written by Richard G. Hewlett and O. E. Anderson, Jr. This second volume, covering the years 1947–52, was written by Mr. Hewlett and Francis Duncan. The earlier volume was excellent and this high quality has been maintained throughout the second one.

Volume 1 ended rather dramatically, and hopefully, with the gradual closing down of the work of the Manhattan Engineer District Project, with the offer of the United States to abandon its monopoly of atomic weapons in favor of international control of atomic energy and weapons, with congressional approval of the McMahon Act to form the AEC, thereby providing for a federal monopoly of atomic power, and with President Truman's appointment of the five AEC commissioners. The relatively few atomic bombs of World War II had been manufactured and dropped, the war was ended, and many were enthusiastic about the promise of a New World. Volume 2, just as dramatically, but much less hopefully, deals with the grim Iron Age that followed this false dawn: with the deflecting of the AEC from its original purpose to the mass production of atomic bombs for the military, indeed with the creation of new atomic weapons, and with the creation, as the title points out, of an atomic shield against our former ally. Apparently this was to be our only defense: as the Russians proceeded to duplicate the American technical triumphs, they were also consolidating their hold on Eastern Europe. In spite of having been victorious in the latest of the world wars, the victors were more insecure than ever before.

Although each volume is independent and can be read separately, there is a dialectical unity between the two that makes it necessary that both be read in order to realize just how bitter were the fruits of the postwar years. It is as if the events of 1947–52 were the antiphonal responses of the chorus to the inexorably deepening tragedy of our mid-century New World and to its hopes.

About half the earlier work was devoted to the history of the scientific developments involved; a much smaller proportion of volume 2 is spent on such events. A much greater emphasis is placed upon the technological exploitation of research already carried out and upon the transformation of what had been, in original intent, *ad hoc* experimental plants for the production of a few bombs into permanent assembly lines for weapons production. The union of science and technology, industry and government, was now being placed upon a permanent basis with the ever greater influx of funds from the government. Resulting from this was a new kind of industrial empire, an empire that, even more than the pre-1945 atomic bomb plants, made explicit in careful detail the articulation of one of the prototypes of what has since come to be called the military-industrial complex.

The Manhattan Engineer District Project came into being with a structure already provided for it by the military. The AEC was to be a new kind of organization, imperial in size and in economic power, whose civilian structure had yet to be created. The selection of personnel and the machinery of decision making for such a new kind of institution, the manifold aspects of the implementation of these decisions and of their stabilized administration, constitute much of the book. Such decisions were to be the result of what a priori would seem to be a highly improbable concatenation of purposes among the president, the Congress and its committees, the scientific estate, the industrial and technological world, and the military establishment. At stake within the country was the control of tens of thousands of people and jobs, and of contracts eventually totaling billions of dollars. The common adaptation of all these purposes to a unified goal meant that the AEC and its activities became the exciting arena within which all these various forces contested for power. How the differences were resolved, with greater and lesser losses to the various factions, constitutes an additional large portion of the book. The authors carefully keep the readers aware, in this twilight between international peace and war,

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that at stake without the country was the question of the balance of power between East and West. To many of the participants this could well be determined by the decisions being taken within the AEC.

The canvas of any historian who attempts such a vast panorama is necessarily an exceedingly broad one. It is one of the merits of the writing of the authors that, in spite of its breadth, the coverage of the story of the AEC is so complete that it makes highly improbable any rewriting of the same material in the near future. Subsequent authors, either explicitly or implicitly, will be able only to retrace these earlier steps or they must avoid the path so carefully laid out. In either case, they cannot overlook this history.

As a matter of fact, it would be most difficult for the historian to avoid the path laid out here. Volume 2, as was volume 1, is an essential *vade mecum* to the otherwise impenetrable domain, extremely large, of classified federal records dealing with the AEC. Without these two volumes as guides, such records would remain as unknown, and as mythical, as Ultima Thule. Using these volumes as guides, one obtains a careful mapping of signal positions in the relevant material. Until the entire records are declassified, one will have to respect the authors' choice, and their interpretation, of salient events in the records: but, as of now, there seems little reason not to do so.

However, the very breadth of the range of the story has a negative aspect: it carries within itself the accessory condition that the authors cannot afford the luxury of dwelling upon what become minutiae relative to the sweep of the story. That they have utilized classified source material prevents the reader from sharing in the subjective choices that resulted in the particular historical pattern they have created. The grand sweep and the utilization of still classified source material have, unhappily, combined to force the writing into a Procrustean bed of traditional "objective" history, where all events have been simplified into linear sequences of causes and effects.

Yet, once removed from the densely packed canvas, many of the minutiae and details forcibly uncoil themselves to reveal intricate and subtle problems of historical evalution. There is little need to list such problems: they are obvious ones, which have already been topics of other scholarly, as well as of pseudoscholarly, works, of plays and of biographies. If any are aware of the demerits of an objective history, the authors certainly must be. One hopes that, once their multivolume work is completed, the authors themselves, with their considerable expertise and historical insight, will return to some of these details and develop them at full length.

In the meantime, we still have this indispensable, very full survey of the history of the AEC, and one looks forward with pleasant anticipation to the remaining volumes.

Uranium Fever has taken what might have been one of the actual rather than relative minutiae in the preceding work and has expanded it into a prefabricated movie script, in good imitation of the 1930s style of Dashiell Hammett. The book comes complete, or rather, replete, with all ingredients: Human Interest, Racy Dialogue, Fast (and slow) Action, Sex, Colorful Characters, and Crime. Such a combination of episodes provides the reader with a glutinous mass of force-meat, sentimentally flavored and synthetically colored, which, in the bulk, is not really too appetizing. What validity the work has is sociological: imbedded within the accounts of these disjointed events are incisive, unflattering indictments of one kind of American life. The authors are completely unaware of this and moreover, it is irrelevant to their purpose. Their intent was to write a story of the unwitting influence of the decisions of the AEC on some extraordinary people, but a competent author is required.

W. JAMES KING
Henry Ford Museum
Dearborn, Michigan

ÁLVARO JARA *et al. Tierras nuevas: Expansión territorial y occupación del suelo en América (siglos XVI–XIX). Ponencias presentadas al IV Congreso Internacional de Historia Económica (Bloomington, Ind., 1968).* (Centro de Estudios Históricos, New Series, Number 7.) [México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1969. Pp. ix, 138.

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ANTONIO LADRÓN DE GUEVARA. *Noticias de los poblados de que se componen el Nuevo Reino de León, Provincia de Coahuila, Nueva-Extremadura, y la de Texas (1739).* Edited by ANDRÉS MONTEMAYOR HERNÁNDEZ. (Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. Series: Historia, Number 10. Noticias geográficas e históricas del Noreste de México, Number 4.) Monterrey: [the Instituto.] 1969. Pp. xxiv, 134.

Two fine studies of the frontier expansion in Latin America during the colonial period are made available to historians. The eighth section of the IV International Congress of Economic History, held at Bloomington, Indiana, in 1968, was concerned with the following themes: the agrarian frontier in the viceroyalty of Peru during the sixteenth century, by Rolando Mellafe; colonization, occupation of the soil, and the frontier in northern New Spain from 1521 to 1750, by Enrique Florescano; frontier expansion from Buenos Aires from 1810 to 1852, by Tulio Halperin Donghi; agricultural colonization in the Argentine province of Santa Fé from 1870 to 1895, by Ezequiel Gallo; Roberto Cortés Conde's penetrating study of intensive land exploitation in Argentina from 1890 to 1910; and Germán Carrera Damas' study of the agrarian policy of Venezuela during the nineteenth century. An excellent introduction to the general theme of occupation, population, and the frontier by Álvaro Jara of the Universidad de Chile explains the general features that are pinpointed in the subsequent essays. Latin Americanists in particular should welcome this small volume.

Antonio Ladrón de Guevara was born in Castilla la Vieja in 1705 and died in the Spanish Corregimiento of Santiago de los Valles in 1767. In 1739 he wrote an excellent description of the cities, towns, villages, and environs of Nuevo León and neighboring northern Mexican provinces. He is particularly concerned with the defects of frontier administration and critical of the abuses found in Spanish colonial officials. A second edition of his work was published in Madrid in 1962 by the José Porrúa Turanzas firm, but this edition is ably edited by Andrés Montemayor Hernández as one of the series, *Noticias geográficas e históricas del noreste de México* of Monterrey, Mexico. A chronological sketch of the controversial career of Ladrón de Guevara and an index will make this a valuable addition to the colonial literature on Mexico.

JACK D. L. HOLMES
University of Alabama, Birmingham

CARL SOLBERG. *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914.* (Latin American Monographs, Number 18. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin.) Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1970. Pp. xi, 222. $6.50.

Argentines and Chileans today would probably raise an eyebrow if they were told that during the half-century before 1914 thousands of Europeans considered their countries to be the promised land. Believing this, thousands came—a few fleeing religious intolerance in Eastern Europe and a few to avoid political persecution but the vast majority to better themselves economically. The governing elites of both countries at first welcomed them, in Chile because of the need for people to work in the mines and industries mainly, in Argentina because of a need for workers on the land. As time went on and for different reasons (as the writer points out), by the turn of the century natives in both countries began to attack immigration. In Chile they decried the taking over of much land (especially in the Magallanes and other southern regions of Chile) and the taking over of the business activity of the country by many middle-class foreigners. In Argentina, because land was not available to foreigners, they went to Buenos Aires and there began to compete politically with the dominating landed aristocracy, even organizing into socialist and anarchist groups, action that finally had to be curtailed in the opinion of the governing group. In Argentina this conflict led to bloody strife. It is interesting to see in the evolution of this story how leading figures in Argentine letters, journalism, business, and politics turned from support of immigration to condemnation of it. Positivist, cosmopolitan economics, at first strongly supported, was condemned in favor of native capitalism, which the same people formerly

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had called inefficient, corrupt, and lazy. In Argentina the governing elite praised native culture and extolled the gaucho for the purpose of continuing the traditionalist, established system, including their control of Argentine politics. In Chile the situation was a little different because of the type of immigration that had come to that country, but it still had the same end.

I think this book is an excellent and outstanding contribution to the history of the period and the area. I hope the young author, an assistant professor at the University of Washington, will now continue the story in the period after 1914, for as he has pointed out, the fruit of the change in attitude toward immigration and foreign penetration was borne in both countries in recent years.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN
University of Colorado

V. S. NAIPAUL. *The Loss of El Dorado: A History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. 335, vi. $7.50.

V. S. Naipaul, the West Indian novelist, turning his attention to the history of his native Trinidad has produced a study that may both fascinate and disconcert scholars of more conventional persuasion. In it he treats two episodes set almost two centuries apart: first, the establishment by an aging conquistador of a base on the island in preparation for his discovery of El Dorado, a scheme whose disasters were shared by its would-be appropriator Sir Walter Raleigh; second, the confused and conflict-ridden events that ensued from the British capture of the colony in 1797 as English, French, and Spanish settlers and exiles, free men of color, and slaves, met and opposed one another in conditions of constant turbulence and antagonism. As his account proceeds, it becomes clear that Mr. Naipaul, while employing a novelist's skill—and license—in delineating and exploring character and motive, is intent upon linking his two incursions into the past to evoke a single theme. A history of insular neglect and stagnation is briefly punctuated by occasions when the impact of remote imperial interests serves to complicate and distort the fabric of a community wanting in roots and unity; for the presence of empire heightened, rather than reduced, the unreality of Trinidad. If it introduced slavery, brutality, and national and racial conflicts, it was equally responsible for investing the island with the dreams and ambitions of Raleigh and Miranda, Berrio and Picton, as they sought on the periphery of civilization triumphs that would secure them honor and glory in Europe. The history of Trinidad therefore appears both as a gross reality where incompatible customs and cultures express their conflicts through resort to cruelty, torture, and murder, and as an occasion for fantasy to flourish unchecked by the restraints of social and institutional conventions. In an infinitely forbidding version, Prospero and Caliban have claimed another island.

Although Mr. Naipaul has consulted archival materials and contemporary printed sources, he gives no precise references, and he is more daring than most scholars would venture to be in his interpretation of events. The academic historian must, therefore, be reluctant to cite *The Loss of El Dorado* as an authority, but he would be equally imprudent to ignore the merits of a subtle study of elements that contribute to the distinctiveness of Caribbean history.

PETER MARSHALL
McGill University

JEAN-CLAUDE NARDIN. *La mise en valeur de l'Ile de Tabago (1763–1783)*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e^ Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent. First Series, Études, Number 31.) The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1969. Pp. 357. 34 gls.

Students of West Indian history and culture will welcome *La mise en valeur de l'Isle de Tabago (1763–1783)* as an invaluable addition to the limited number of scholarly works devoted to this area. Too often overshadowed by Trinidad in recent writings, Tabago has also been limited to short entries even in encyclopedias.

Regrettably, too many works treating West Indian subject matter have been overromanticized tomes, exploiting the racially or religiously exotic with an end product more suit-

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able for the mass market or those concerned with perpetuating stereotypes. Nardin, on the other hand, has produced a work that, though covering a specific area intensively over a short span of time, will be as valuable to scholars as the larger and more general works of Abbé Guillaume Raynal and Lowell Ragatz.

The author gives detailed treatment to the French and English struggle for possession of the island, the political-administrative machinery used to govern the colony, and its economic and social organization. Of equal value is his copious introduction, setting forth the necessary geographical information and historical background for understanding the period covered. Conspicuously absent, regrettably, is any significant treatment of the religious institution and its effect upon the growth and development of Tabago.

The breadth and depth of Nardin's research and scholarship are revealed in the book's extensive bibliography, consisting of a wide range of manuscripts and archival materials, plus a wealth of first-rate secondary sources. These items further enhance the publication's value to other serious students of Tabago and the West Indies in general. The same could be said for his appendixes, containing lists of governors, city plans, miscellaneous documents, and letters.

If one were to highlight specific chapters of the book, these would be chapter 4, "Le développement de l'activité économique," and chapter 5, "L'État social." Both sections contain detailed statistics and charts that not only support the economic stance of Nardin but bring additional depth of analysis and understanding to his lucid prose style.

While Nardin has produced a scholarly work of inestimable worth, a more analytical and critical conclusion would have provided a supportive and significant dimension for those of us whose chief concern is West Indian history. Certainly, pertinent economic comparisons with other West Indian colonies, by way of conclusion, would have been of great value. Nevertheless, the author's efforts in historical research and the presentation of materials have paid off handsomely.

GEORGE BREATHETT
Bennett College

WARD BARRETT. *The Sugar Hacienda of the Marqueses del Valle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1970. Pp. 147. $10.00.

This volume on the sugar industry in Mexico has produced a heavy yield from a remarkable harvest of documentary records of the Cortés plantation stretching from 1541 to the middle of the nineteenth century. Coming to his research from a study of the sugar industry in the West Indies, Professor Barrett has concentrated in this volume on the technological and managerial aspects of one large plantation, indicating that he intends at a later time to write a historical geography of the entire Morelos sugar industry. The direction of his research is very worthwhile when one considers the enormous importance of the sugar industry (in mainland Spanish America as well as elsewhere) and the relative lack of printed material written by Spanish contemporaries or historians.

The basic purposes of the author have been to utilize the plantation data in such a way as to contribute to the history of the sugar industry in Mexico, the general history of sugar technology, and "the history, external relationships, structure, and management of Spanish colonial plantations." The organization of the book, as might be expected, follows a somewhat different pattern dictated by the need for being coherent without being too repetitive. After describing how the Cortés plantation came into its full being by the seventeenth century, the author devotes succeeding chapters to the leasing and administering of the plantation, the acquisition of land and water, field management and yields, sugar-making techniques and equipment, livestock and supplies, labor, and the costs and productivity of labor.

Valuable in itself is the detailed picture provided by these chapters of how the sugar plantation operated and of how the various factors of production were acquired and brought together. Proceeding beyond this point, the author uses his data skillfully in order to analyze historic change, and in this process he reaches the intriguing conclusion that labor productivity here, unlike the West Indies, increased notably during the colonial period despite the fact that technology nearly stood still. The ap-

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pendixes, tables, and maps are rich in useful data; the graphs could have been profitably accompanied by better explanations of their derivation.

Professor Barrett, a geographer, shows competence in widely different disciplines and has offered here much subtropical "grist" for many mills.

CARLYLE BEYER
College of William and Mary

ROMEO FLORES CABELLERO. *La contrarevolución en la independencia: Los Españoles en la vida política, social y económica de México (1804–1838).* (Centro de Estudios Históricos, New Series, Number 8.) [México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1969. Pp. 201.

JAVIER OCAMPO. *Las ideas de un día: El pueblo mexicano ante la consumación de su independencia.* (Centro de Estudios Históricos, New Series, Number 6.) [México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1969. Pp. x, 376.

The works noticed here are contributions of two young scholars to a new series issued by the Centro de Estudios Históricos of the Colegio de México, the well-known Mexican center of advanced study and research.

The book by Flores Caballero consists of a series of chapters that deal with the relation of the peninsular minority in Mexico to certain features of the Mexican movement for independence, beginning with the impact of the Cédula de Consolidación of 1804, the deposition of Viceroy Iturrigaray in 1808, and continuing with political and military aspects of the war, the postwar maneuvers of factions during the Iturbide regime, the movements aimed at the expulsion of the Spaniards from the country, and the abortive efforts of Spain to reconquer Mexico. The author demonstrates his thorough acquaintance with the historical literature and the printed sources for the period. He also makes use of Mexican archival documents at certain points in his story, but he has not had access to any manuscript material from the Spanish archives that might have permitted him to make a greater original contribution, nor has he been able to use the records of the *consulados*. His most thorough work is his study of the Cédula de Consolidación. He has made an interesting analysis of the involvement of *peninsulares* in that affair as well as the reaction of the ecclesiastical authorities. It is clear that the forced liquidation of mortgages and subsequent loan to the treasury of the proceeds created bitter disaffection and conflict.

Javier Ocampo's book is based on an interesting plan that aims at an intensive cross section of ideas of all kinds expressed in Mexico at the time of the declaration of independence and its immediate aftermath. A massive study of the contemporary pamphlet and periodical literature as well as some official records enables Ocampo to document the generally enthusiastic reception of independence by practically all Mexican groups. He shows clearly how effective the "three guarantees" of the Plan de Iguala were in creating a powerful if ephemeral consensus in support of independence. The author chronicles in detail the ideas of the time on political, religious, economic, and cultural subjects, emphasizing the general euphoria at the outset and the rapid disillusionment that set in as the regime failed to cope adequately with the urgent problems of the era. There are no striking new interpretations in this volume, although a number of interesting conclusions are reached on particular matters, for example, the evidence that *aztequismo,* the glorification of ancient Mexico at this time, was equally popular with liberals and conservatives, and that the general approval of freedom to trade with all foreign countries was coupled with protectionist tendencies. The volume provides a veritable anthology of Mexican thought and opinion at the moment studied that opens the way to further studies. The bibliographical appendix is very extensive.

Both of the volumes discussed illustrate a tendency, which should be appreciated by students of the period, to investigate aspects other than military and political of the struggle for independence.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN
Hyde Park, New York

GÜNTER KAHLE. *Militär und Staatsbildung in den Anfängen der Unabhängigkeit Mexikos.* (Lateinamerikanische Forschungen: Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas, Number 1.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1969. Pp. xiv, 267. DM 36.

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This thorough pioneer study, originally a doctoral dissertation, deserves more determined editing. Kahle blithely disregards his own premise concerning the scope of his monograph—the development and political influence of the Mexican army from Mexico's independence in 1821 to the advent of the Santa Anna regime in 1833. Perhaps a third of the book is devoted to sometimes interesting yet often distracting discourses on the role and organization of the military in colonial Mexico and the impact of military influence on Latin America generally. Kahle's arrangement of chronological sequence and his topical structure tend to impede instead of facilitating the reader's understanding of his presentation.

Otherwise, Kahle makes his more pertinent points effectively. With an impressive array of data, much of it painstakingly obtained from primary sources, he offers a perceptively conceived and, on occasion, incisive microstudy of how Mexico's political mismanagement was reflected in and, in turn, encouraged through the workings of a demoralized and chaotic military establishment. Among the author's more significant specific contributions is his compelling examination of the frequently unwholesome influence exerted on both government and army by the veterans of Mexico's wars for independence.

Kahle bases his study on previously neglected materials in the archives of the Mexican war ministry and the Mexican National Archives as well as other published and unpublished Mexican, German, Spanish, English, and American sources. He discusses some of them in a bibliographical essay. Others are relegated to a mere citation or to a descriptive statement in the footnotes. All in all, and in spite of its obvious shortcomings, this is a study that should not be lightly disregarded by those holding a serious interest in the topic.

WARREN SCHIFF
Worcester, Massachusetts

BERNARDINO MENA BRITO. *Reestructuración histórica de Yucatán.* Volume 1 *(Influencia negativa de los políticos campechanos en los destinos de México y de Yucatán de 1821 a 1855);* Volume 2 *(Influencia negativa de los políticos campechanos en los destinos de México y de Yucatán de 1856 a 1913);* Volume 3 *(Influencia negativa de los políticos campechanos en los destinos de México y de Yucatán de 1914 a 1969).* México, D. F.: Editores Mexicanos Unidos. 1965; 1967; 1969. Pp. 388; 368; 495.

The subtitle of these volumes is "The Negative Influence of Campeche Politicians in the Destinies of Mexico and Yucatán." The author states that his only purpose is to get at the truth, and he disclaims any aversion to the people of Campeche. The "malevolent conduct of the Campeche politicians and historians" is what aroused his fury and led to such high consumption of ink and paper.

Volume 3 covers the years 1914 to 1969. The author was a participant in many of the events included and relied on his notes and papers and on conversations with other revolutionaries. He has much to say that is flattering about Carranza and much that is unflattering about Cárdenas. He quotes letters, documents, and newspapers, but, in keeping with the polemical nature of the work, there are neither footnotes nor a bibliography.

This is not, the author states in the epilogue, a history of Yucatán or a critical history. True. "Is this work intentionally polemical?" he asks. "Yes!" he answers. "Only in this form would it be able to clarify the events."

There is no doubt much in Yucatán's troubled history to arouse rancor, but conventional historians do not have much experience in reviewing polemics, and the standard rules do not apply. One may suppose, however, that polemics call forth other polemics, and that Mena Brito's name will be frequently mentioned, possibly even in footnotes, by future historians of Yucatán.

DONALD E. WORCESTER
Texas Christian University

JOHN W. F. DULLES. *Unrest in Brazil: Political-Military Crises 1955–1964.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 449. $10.00.

OCTAVIO IANNI. *Crisis in Brazil.* Translated by PHYLLIS B. EVELETH. (Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. 244. $8.50.

Here are two eminently scholarly, but otherwise unlike, studies that attempt to account for the Brazilian revolution of 1964. Dulles' *Unrest in Brazil,* which ends with the installation of the military regime, shows in great detail *how* it

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happened. Ianni's long politico-economic essay, *Crisis in Brazil*, which carries the story to 1967, is not quite convincing in explaining *why* it happened. Both works assume considerable knowledge of recent Brazilian history on the part of the reader.

Historians of Latin-American politics and especially those interested in the involvement of the armed forces in the political process will find Professor Dulles' book fascinating from beginning to end. In a real sense it is an extension of his *Vargas of Brazil*, for it deals primarily with the heirs, exploiters, and enemies of the Vargas heritage. Based on extensive reading of contemporary accounts and some two-hundred interviews with participants on all sides of the kaleidoscopic political scene in Brazil during the decade after Vargas' suicide, the study relates the actions and motivations of individuals responding to immediate situations. As in his earlier works, Dulles has demonstrated his capacity to elicit forthright comments from men whose decisions affected national politics, although the reader may suspect that an occasional informant has allowed the rapid pace of events and changes of political fortune to color his memory. Nonetheless, the work is remarkably free from discernible errors. The value of the text is enhanced by dozens of photographs and by the notes that appear in the appendix on the electorate, legal political parties, and the Communist party. *Unrest in Brazil* promises to remain an indispensable mine of information for students of politics in post-Vargas Brazil.

Crisis in Brazil, which first appeared in Portuguese as *O colapso do populismo no Brasil*, reviews and interprets the crises that have rocked that nation since World War I in terms of economic development and relations between new and traditional sectors of society. Professor Ianni, one of Brazil's leading sociologists, postulates a four-stage model of development for Brazil culminating in socialism, which presumably will bring political and economic independence to his country. In his view the events that he calls the "coup d'etat of 1964" deliberately prevented Brazil's progress to the socialist stage and assured its increasing dependence on foreign capitalism. He buttresses his theory with abundant statistical data and lengthy quotations from policy makers in office before and after 1964. Much of this material has not previously been available in English.

Ianni's meaning is sometimes obscured by a recurring problem of translation whereby *politica de massas* often appears as "the rule of the masses." A more serious defect, however, is Ianni's distortion of historical facts to fit the model he has constructed. For example, he suggests that the masses were in power before the overthrow of the Estado Novo, and he projects back to the Vargas administrations of the 1930s political and economic policies that Vargas did not adopt until 1945 or later. Although written in 1967, the book reflects many of the Marxist assumptions and much of the euphoria of the political Left during the Goulart administration. It explains away the collapse of the Left as the inability of leftist leaders to understand and devise proper formulae to exploit the situation. Ianni does not come to grips with the positive factors that permitted the armed forces to take power without opposition in March 1964.

Despite its limitations, *Crisis in Brazil* deserves careful attention by Brazilianists. It belongs with the works of Celso Furtado, Roberto Campos, and Helio Jaguaribe as a serious effort by a Brazilian intellectual to reinterpret the broad trends of recent Brazilian history.

ROLLIE E. POPPINO
University of California, Davis

JOHN D. WIRTH. *The Politics of Brazilian Development, 1930–1954*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 278. $7.95.

Wirth deals with three episodes in the development of the modern Brazilian economy: the trade imbalance of the 1930s, the construction of an integrated steel mill at Volta Redonda in the 1940s, and the organization of the government petroleum monopoly in the 1950s. They are extremely well chosen, for each illustrates the central issues of public economic policy—import substitution, state-owned basic industry, and domestic control of natural resources. The author has uncovered astonishing quantities of material of very high quality, and he displays the course of events in all its complexity but with great analytical clarity. A pattern emerges

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of a government improving continuously its ability to assess policy alternatives and to reach decisions consistent with the development of the national economy. At the same time he shows the increasing capacity of interest groups to identify themselves with the national interest and the increasing readiness of the voting public to be mobilized in behalf of developmentalism.

The roles of the most significant actors are shrewdly evaluated. Vargas emerges as a compromiser, not a determined nationalist, even in the petroleum question. The army lacks the skills or interest to influence the trade debate but becomes increasingly dominant in the drive to industrialization. The politicians of the UDN skillfully manipulated the issue of economic nationalism in such a way that the masses were left unawakened to a sense of their own power. Indeed Petrobras was much less of a victory for nationalism and more of a compromise than Volta Redonda because it might have been interpreted as a success of the Left. It is depressing to see how consistently, in each of these three crises, the U.S. government and U.S. business struggled against the realization of Brazil's full potentialities. The alternatives were seen only in the shortest of perspectives, and the United States provided capital assistance only when the plans of the Brazilians appeared to be an inevitability.

This is surely the best synthesis of Brazilian economic material up to now. Wirth's interpretations are restrained but significant and challenging. He is evidently inspired by a genuine concern for the economic and political autonomy of Brazil, and yet his observations are so balanced that his analysis is nearly impregnable. There is one contradiction of profound consequence in the study but it is not exactly of the author's making. His hopes for an economically developed nation-state seem in a way to betray his hopes for a democratic Brazil. Developmentalism, after all, was a means grasped by an oligarchic and authoritarian elite to avoid its own obsolescence. The constructors and executors of these policies were avaricious businessmen and bureaucrats on the make, who realized quite fully their most ambitious dreams. To look at the creation of an industrial system under these conditions nearly exclusively from the stance of political process and administrative competence is to abdicate the principal advantage that hindsight provides the historian in reviewing the recent past in Brazil: of what use is development if it empowers and justifies a military juggernaut to level all democratic aspirations in that country, perhaps forever?

WARREN DEAN
New York University

ROBERT M. LEVINE. *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934–1938.* (Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. x, 270. $9.00.

In considering Brazil in the years 1934–38 Robert Levine reports on the Left and the National Liberation Alliance (ANL), the 1935 uprisings and the resulting repression, the installation of the Estado Nôvo, and the Integralists and their downfall. For those interested in these matters Levine's book should be required reading because of the details gathered from Brazilian archives that it presents, the attention paid to the social and ideological setting, and the numerous valuable judgments. Levine competently handles such matters as politics in Natal, and the ANL and Integralists—their differences, similarities, and failings. The short concluding section about the Vargas regime and the support on which it rested is excellent.

Weaknesses are of two types and are not serious. First, in areas outside of those of concentrated research surprising factual errors creep in (for example, those regarding the "eighteen of the fort," *Avanti!*, those present at the founding of the Brazilian Communist party [PCB], Francisco Campos' "black shirts," the Fourth PCB Congress). Furthermore, while it is true that the researched material is handled so as to give the reader a very good overall understanding, parts of the story are not covered by that material. More might have been said about Adalberto Fernandes, the talkative Communist party secretary-general from 1934 to 1936. We get only the amount of his apartment rent and two brief references, hardly new, to his sadder days in 1936. Something might have been said about the $100,000 that top Brazilian foreign ministry officers said was sent from Moscow to Youamtorg in Montevideo to support the 1935

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uprisings. It would, of course, be too much to expect final answers to all questions, and so we are grateful to Levine's resort to "probably": the 1935 insurrections were "probably triggered prematurely by government agents," and Olga Prestes "probably died in a Swiss hospital of tuberculosis in 1938."

Discussing 1945, Levine states that Vargas and Prestes publicly embraced, and that "Vargas' keen ability . . . to anticipate developments failed him." Both statements are important for students of Vargas. The first, if true, should be supported by evidence. The second should be carefully studied in a work such as Levine, very happily, has provided for 1934–38.

JOHN W. F. DULLES
University of Texas, Austin

JAMES W. WILKIE. *The Bolivian Revolution and U.S. Aid since 1952: Financial Background and Context of Political Decisions.* (Latin American Studies, Volume 13.) Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles. 1969. Pp. xvii, 114. $6.50.

In this valuable monograph the winner of the 1968 Bolton Prize has applied to Bolivian development during the last third of a century the systematic statistical analysis of financial structure and state policy that he used in his examination of Mexican federal expenditure and social change since 1910. The great problem of the study was in finding reliable, interpretable, and available statistics. Research in Bolivia involved extensive use of raw data in the Treasury Department files and the development of a new source of information—oral history interviews with such personages as Víctor Paz Estenssoro, Juaquín Espada, and Hugo Roberts Barragán. In Washington many documents of the U.S. Operations Mission and AID were "classified," making impossible a full, independent analysis of United States aid to Bolivia. The author, nevertheless, is confident that the information available, frequently representing merely trends of expenditure, makes possible certain conclusions.

Foremost among them is his belief that the Revolution of 1952 was not, financially speaking, revolutionary. That revolution occurred in 1945 when Paz Estenssoro, then treasury minister, attempted to resolve social tensions by engineering a budgetary pattern of social expenditure at the expense of an effective program of economic development. This pattern has since trapped Bolivia: "the need for economic activity generates social tensions which must be resolved immediately if a 'revolutionary' government is to stay in power, and thus no funds are free for commitment to resolve basic structural problems" (p. 42).

The U.S. Department of State began to consider the Bolivian revolution as non-Communist, though Marxist, after Milton Eisenhower visited the country in 1953. The author believes that U.S. aid, if applied to economic development, might have enabled Bolivia to accelerate economic growth. But much of the aid was not "economic"; it consisted of agricultural commodity shipments; and early efforts toward assistance were largely directed towards social action. Nevertheless, USAID managed a shift to economic investment at the very time that the Alliance for Progress was proclaiming a shift to social investment. The program (1952–64) achieved political objectives in Bolivia, if not all of its social and economic goals.

Supplementing the brief text of the monograph are eighteen informative tables and graphs, seventeen appendixes, an incisive bibliographic essay, and an extensive bibliography.

MAURY BAKER
Kent State University

JOSÉ LUIS DE IMAZ. *Los Que Mandan (Those Who Rule).* Translated and with an introduction by CARLOS A. ASTIZ, with MARY F. MCCARTHY. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1970. Pp. 279. Cloth $7.50, paper $2.45.

After its publication at Buenos Aires in 1964, Professor Imaz' study of the Argentine elites attracted favorable attention and commentary among Latin American specialists throughout the hemisphere. The book is the first systematic historical and sociological analysis of Latin American elites, and this translation is an important contribution to the English literature on the area.

The elite groups, or "ruling categories" as Imaz prefers to call them, include major national political leaders, large landowners, officers of the armed forces, industrial and commercial entrepreneurs, the hierarchy of the church, and leaders of labor unions. Imaz presents ex-

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tensive survey data on the age, regional and class origins, and educational backgrounds of most of these groups, although the information is more complete for the landowners, the entrepreneurs, and the military. Along with this analysis, the author gradually reveals his own dismay at what he calls Argentina's crisis of leadership. The republic, he claims, lacks a ruling elite. The groups analyzed work at narrow ends or cross purposes and appear unable to revive the republic from the doldrums into which it has fallen since 1930. In Imaz' view, although Argentina has industrialized considerably in recent decades, industrialists remain divided among themselves, generally conservative in their outlook, and, partly because many are foreigners, isolated from national political life. The military, unsure of its potential role as a dynamic developmental force, plays essentially a moderating role. Status-conscious, conservative sons of immigrants control the church, while the labor-union leadership suffers bitter internal feuding. Perón's populist regime did not end this chaotic situation by giving rise to a new elite but created a group of obsequious followers who fell with the dictator. Because of the failure of new dynamic groups to emerge, the large landowners remain the single most influential interest group, but their association, the *Sociedad Rural,* also suffers from a "sclerosis" of modernity.

The book is rich in data and insights, but one may debate some of its fundamental assumptions. The author's insistence that Argentina is a "modern country, as modern as many European countries" (p. 255), overlooks that Argentina also is a dependent, essentially colonial country, whose economy is largely dominated by foreign capital and foreign markets and whose urban middle and upper classes still consciously imitate foreign cultural and intellectual trends. Is the national revival that Imaz calls for possible, given the power of European and U.S. imperialism in Argentina and the consequent non-national orientation of much of the country's elite?

CARL SOLBERG
University of Washington

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Communications

TO THE EDITOR:

At the risk of prolonging the discussion of Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, "Red Fascism"—in which I have not so far participated —I would like to comment briefly on one sentence in the authors' reply to their critics (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 2162). The sentence reads: "One cannot ignore the statements of Russian leaders, so often repeated, that their country had been invaded twice within one half-century by Germans who marched *through a weak, anti-Soviet Poland*" (italics mine). Do the authors mean to say that they take this absurd Soviet claim at face value? Germany could not possibly have marched through a "weak, anti-Soviet Poland" to invade Russia in the First World War simply because no Polish state then existed. As for the second invasion of 1941, there was again no Polish state, weak or strong, separating Germany from Russia, because the two powers had divided it two years earlier. In both cases there was a common German-Russian border cutting across partitioned Polish lands. I have often wondered that no one at Yalta, where Stalin first made this point, corrected him about this obvious historical nonsense. How two historians writing a quarter of a century later can repeat it uncritically is beyond me.

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ
Yale University

THE AUTHORS REPLY:

The important point of the sentence Professor Wandycz isolated from our answer to previous critics is that the Soviet Union considered the postwar status of Poland critical to Soviet security. Wandycz is of course helpful in noting that we did not choose our words absolutely correctly. Our attempt to paraphrase the statements of the cold-war leaders clouded the intense language and depth of feeling the Soviets nurtured regarding the geography and power relationships in Poland. Of course Germany did not march through a "Poland" in either World War I or World War II. But German armies did invade Russia through a "Polish territory" that was weak and anti-Russian (and later anti-Soviet) and did inflict heavy damages in Russia. That much is clear, although our paraphrase was too imprecise. To bring precision to the question, and to demonstrate the profound seriousness of the matter in the Russian mind and in international diplomacy, let us quote our American, Soviet, and British sources directly.

Wandycz is incorrect in saying that Stalin first made his point at Yalta in February 1945. In a message to President Franklin D. Roosevelt on December 27, 1944, the Russian premier wrote, "It should be borne in mind that the Soviet Union, more than any other Power, has a stake in strengthening a pro-Ally and democratic Poland, not only because it is bearing the brunt of the struggle for Poland's liberation, but also because Poland borders on the Soviet Union and because *the Polish problem is inseparable from the security of the Soviet Union.*" (Quoted from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., *Correspondence Between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain . . . 1941–1945* [New York, 1965], doc. no. 254, p. 181. Our italics.)

The American record of the February 6, 1945, third plenary meeting at the Yalta Conference includes Stalin's important summary of the Soviet position on Poland: "It was a question of strategic security not only because Poland was a

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bordering country but because throughout history Poland has been the corridor for attack on Russia. We have to mention that during the last thirty years Germany twice has passed through this corridor. The reason for this was that Poland was weak. Russia wants a strong, independent and democratic Poland. Since it was impossible by the force of Russian armies alone to close from the outside this corridor, it could be done only by Poland's own forces. It was very important, therefore, to have Poland independent, strong and democratic. It is not only a question of honor for Russia, but one of life and death." (U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945* [Washington, 1955], 669.) The Soviet record of the same meeting is very similar: "Throughout history, Poland had always been a corridor for an enemy attacking Russia. Suffice it to recall only the previous 30 years: in that period, the Germans twice went across Poland to attack Russia. Why had the enemies crossed Poland so easily until then? Chiefly because Poland had been weak. . . . The question of Poland was a question of life and death for the Soviet state." (*The Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam Conferences: Documents* [Moscow, 1969], 93–94.)

Shortly after Yalta, on February 22, Winston Churchill spoke to the House of Commons and mentioned the Polish issue: "Twice in our lifetime Russia has been violently assaulted by Germany. . . . Russia has the right to reassurance against future attacks from the West, and we are going to see that she gets it." (Quoted from Martin F. Herz, *Beginnings of the Cold War* [Bloomington, 1966], 55.) And on April 23, 1945, a number of key advisers met in the White House to discuss Poland. President Harry S. Truman paraphrases in his memoirs the thoughts of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson: "He said he thought that the Russians perhaps were being more realistic than we were in regard to their own security." (Truman, *Memoirs* [Garden City, 1955–56], 1: 78.) The next day Stalin wrote to Truman on the familiar theme: "Another circumstance that should be borne in mind is that Poland borders on the Soviet Union, which cannot be said about Great Britain or the U.S.A. Poland is to the security of the Soviet Union what Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain. . . . I cannot understand why in discussing Poland no attempt is made to consider the interests of the Soviet Union in terms of security as well." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Correspondence,* doc. no. 298, p. 220.)

To demonstrate further the importance of this issue of Soviet security and Poland, let us quote Stalin from Charles Bohlen's recorded notes of a conversation on May 27, 1945, between Truman's envoy Harry Hopkins and Stalin: "In the course of twenty-five years the Germans had twice invaded via Poland. Neither the British nor American people had experienced such German invasions which were a horrible thing to endure and the results of which were not easily forgotten. . . . Poland had served as a corridor for the German attacks on Russia. . . . It is therefore in Russia's vital interest that Poland should be both strong and friendly." (U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, The Conference of Berlin (Potsdam)* [Washington, 1960], 1: 39.)

In short, the question centered around the inviolability of Poland as a buffer between the Soviet Union and Germany. A great many prominent Americans, including the powerful architect of bipartisanship in cold-war foreign policy, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, assumed too simply and too superficially that Russia should have been satisfied with American guarantees of collective security against Germany in the future. Vandenberg interpreted, in the Red Fascist analogy, the Soviet reluctance to accept such guarantees as another indication that Soviet Russia was taking over Nazi Germany's role in Europe. Such a pact guaranteeing security, Vandenberg wrote in his diary for April 29, 1946, "would have robbed the Soviets of every excuse for seeking territorial expansion, and satellites, in the name of 'security.'" Vandenberg also recorded some thoughts of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes: "He said that Molotov (and the French and British upon some occasions) always argued that Germany has *twice* ravaged his country and that *this* time things must be fixed so it will not occur again. Byrnes pointed out that every Russian move is always explained away in the name of 'security.' He proposed to deal with this situation with *finality.*" (Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr., ed., *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg* [Boston, 1952], 268; see also 136. Italics in original.) But Byrnes's suggested twenty-five year guarantee

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against German rearmament or expansion did not comprehend the considerable depth of Soviet fears or the power realities in Eastern Europe.

Our sympathy for the tragic plight of the Poles notwithstanding, we believed it necessary to point out the narrow American conception of these fears and realities and the influence of the Red Fascist image in limiting that vision. Although we cannot provide a lengthy argument in this letter because of limited space, it is our working generalization that American foreign policy vis-à-vis Russia in Eastern Europe in the early postwar years was so simplistic and blustering that, rather than reducing Soviet fears —often exaggerated but nevertheless important matters in diplomacy—it exacerbated them and increased Soviet concern for security. And despite public statements by Americans that they recognized that Soviet fears were justifiable, American policy was such that it might be argued (as did James Paul Warburg) that the "iron curtain" was pulled down in part by the United States. We believe that Professor Wandycz' letter dismisses this serious issue too lightly and without substantiation.

We are grateful to the *AHR* for allowing this exchange of letters in the last few issues. Not wishing to inflict a serial on the *AHR*'s readers, however, we request that any further correspondence be sent directly to us.

LES K. ADLER
Sonoma State College
THOMAS G. PATERSON
University of Connecticut

TO THE EDITOR:

Ignace Gelb, a fine scholar in his own area of cuneiform research, has written a "disappointing" and "one-sided" review of my *The Sacred Marriage Rite* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1422–23); it should not deter the serious student from reading the work and forming his own judgment. The book represents a pioneer effort to collect, evaluate, and interpret the relevant Sumerian literary documents, not a few of which have been unknown or misunderstood even in cuneiform circles, and the cultural historian may well find it of very considerable value for his comparative researches. Admittedly the study of Sumerian myth and ritual is complex, esoteric, and elusive, and if in spite of my efforts at lucidity, the reader should find the evidence or the reasoning obscure, I would be happy to elaborate and try to clarify on request.

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
University Museum
University of Pennsylvania

PROFESSOR GELB REPLIES:

In my brief review I used the qualifying adjectives "disappointing" and "one-sided" in reference to Professor Kramer's latest book for the following reasons: The book was disappointing to me because, notwithstanding valiant efforts, I could not make head nor tail of the background of the sacred marriage and its development in later times. Admittedly I am not an expert in the field of religion, myth, and ritual. Others may have more luck. At any rate they can avail themselves now of the help generously extended to them by Professor Kramer. I described his work as one-sided mainly because of the first chapter, in which he assigns to the Sumerians all the great achievements in the history, economy, arts, and religion of early Mesopotamia, almost completely disregarding the other important ethnic element of the time, the Akkadians (that is, the later Babylonians). The same remark can be made of Professor Kramer's previous works on the Sumerians. To cite a parallel from other times, it seems unthinkable to me to write of eleventh- or twelfth-century England limiting oneself to the French Normans and disregarding the Saxons.

I. J. GELB
Oriental Institute
University of Chicago

TO THE EDITOR:

As a member of the American Historical Association I am writing to comment on a review of Kurt Schuschnigg's *Im Kampf gegen Hitler: die Überwindung der Anschlussidee* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1744). Since I read Dr. Schuschnigg's work carefully and am acquainted with the historical and political issues he discusses, I am surprised that the *AHR* has seen fit to publish a prejudiced, inadequate review of a book that possesses substantial historical value. One is

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forced to the conclusion that Mr. Kitchen is so prejudiced by preconceived notions as to be unable to provide an objective, scholarly discussion of the book in question.

Im Kampf gegen Hitler is a perceptive, fully documented, and frequently eye-witness report of critical events leading up to the *Anschluss*. It reveals, among other things—for those who may not yet be convinced—the exercises in expediency that divided the former Allies of World War I, enabling Hitler to move into a power vacuum, to build up Nazi Germany's military and industrial strength while lulling England and France into a false sense of security.

In significant detail and with complete authentication Dr. Schuschnigg narrates the background and seminal events leading up to the Austrian tragedy. While the general pattern is chronological, the author treats fully the salient events of this period. In clear, coherent sequence the writer-protagonist describes events and personalities objectively; he allows the words and actions of principal participants to speak for themselves, revealing their character and, to some degree, the motivation behind the facts.

In contrast to Mr. Kitchen's biased, almost disdainful, seemingly emotional dismissal of this book and its author as unimportant, I believe that the qualified historian will find here a valuable source of hitherto unpublished archival material. No less important are the personal comments, insights, and evaluations of the former Austrian chancellor. These reflect not only his retentive memory and careful consultation of documents, but also his own involvement and participation, his intelligence, integrity, and dedication to truth and justice as he saw them.

As unique source material revealing the actions, experiences, intentions, and convictions of a distinguished if much maligned statesman, as a sound and useful collection of relevant documents, many of which are not readily accessible, *Im Kampf gegen Hitler* is a unique contribution to the understanding of international relations immediately prior to World War II.

In fairness to the work under consideration, but even more out of respect for the norms of sound scholarship and objective evaluation, I believe my comments should be made available to your readers.

EDWARD J. SCHUSTER
Loras College

PROFESSOR KITCHEN REPLIES:

Mr. Schuster's outburst, although containing no evidence whatsoever to support his contention that Schuschnigg's *apologia* is indeed such a "unique contribution," is welcome, for it at least gives me an opportunity to say in a little more detail why I think the book is so bad. I assume that Mr. Schuster's reference to my bias, lack of objectivity, and emotionalism is his somewhat involved way of saying that I was succinct and did not waste too much time on this book. *Im Kampf gegen Hitler* is not a serious effort by a historian to analyze the events that led up the *Anschluss,* but rather an attempt by Schuschnigg to justify his own disastrous policies. The end result is a book that is as dubious as its title is risible. Thus Schuschnigg says nothing of his activities as minister of justice, when he lent a willing hand to the destruction of Austrian democracy and thus objectively helped Hitler to sieze power in Austria. He continues to perpetrate the absurd idea that the Austrian Social Democrats were bent on the destruction of Austrian democracy, although all the considerable material available on the party shows this to be utterly untrue. Even Schuschnigg is forced to admit reluctantly that the Linz program of 1926 was not in fact an announcement of imminent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; but had he read a little further in material that he himself quotes, he would have seen that the party had nothing in it of the "red menace" that still seems to haunt his dreams. Equally untrue is the assertion that the emergency laws in Austria were a direct response to the activities of Hitler's government. The embarrassing fact that this legislation was begun before Hitler ever came to power is tactfully overlooked. Totally false is the denial that Mussolini prompted Dollfuss to attack the Social Democrats and that Dollfuss agreed. Schuschnigg even goes as far as to suggest that this is not contained in the published correspondence. Nothing is said of Austria's support for Italy in the Abyssinian campaign or of the government's refusal to join in the sanctions against Italy, in spite of Schuschnigg's pious claims that the government fully supported the principles of the League of Nations. Mr. Schuster asserts that British and French disenchantment with Austria was due to a cynical expediency, but in the enthusiasm of his crusade for objective history, he too has un-

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fortunately forgotten these embarrassing episodes. The vacuum created, according to Mr. Schuster, by the selfishness of the Allies of World War I—a delightful theory if used to include Italy—was of course to a large extent the work of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg. Schuschnigg has nothing to say of the offers made in sincere good faith by the Social Democrats even to support Dollfuss against what they rightly felt to be the far greater menace of German fascism. On the contrary Schuschnigg preferred to negotiate with Hitler rather than with the Austrian Social Democrats, who after all represented nearly half the population of the country. It is quite true that the democratic forces in Austria wanted to get rid of Schuschnigg and his brand of Austrofascism, but it would be a mockery of the facts to equate antifascism with the desire to establish some ferocious form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Dollfuss and Schuschnigg did and as Schuschnigg, in spite of the wealth of evidence to the contrary, still continues to imply.

Mr. Schuster praises Schuschnigg as a sound and objective judge of character. I need only cite the extraordinary defense of Seyss-Inquart against Papen's "second thoughts" about him to show the exceptional bad judgment of Mr. Schuster's hero. Mr. Schuster also claims that this book is a mine of new information, particularly from the archives. This also is, alas, untrue. Most of the material used in the book is readily available elsewhere and is familiar to students of the period. But this is not the point. One hardly expects to find much new material in a book of this sort, and it does not stand or fall on that count. It is a bad book because it does not stand up to acceptable standards of scholarship, and it is bad for the even more serious reason that it is an attempt to justify undemocratic and reactionary policies with a sovereign disregard for historical fact. As such it is a work of propaganda and exculpation, and for this reason I may perhaps be excused a little emotion. Schuschnigg suffered greatly in the concentration camps of Hitler's Germany, but unfortunately this does not give him the right to claim to have been the great antifascist champion, a fact that all the political *Kitsch* of his "Austrian Credo" cannot conceal. Schuschnigg was not a "distinguished statesman," nor has he made a "unique contribution" to the history of the period. In a fit of modesty he seems to have been aware of this latter fact. The book begins with a quotation from Sallust: *Arduum res gestas scribere* (it is difficult to write history), a sentiment that is justified by what follows.

MARTIN KITCHEN
Simon Fraser University

TO THE EDITOR:

J. F. Zacek's review of my *Czech Revolution of 1848* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1747–48) does such violence to the facts that I am compelled to ask you to allow me to set the record straight. To save space, let me confine my reply to those charges that can easily be refuted by quoting from my book. Zacek finds objectionable my "unchecked biases," particularly my "undisguised preference for the frustrated Czech radical minority and the 'have-nots'" and complains that I display "greater distaste and less understanding" for liberal Czech leaders than do many contemporary Czechoslovak Marxists. What are the facts? Though I criticized the liberals—and for that matter the radicals—where it seemed justified, I treated them with respect and gave full recognition to their contributions to the Czech cause. In the summary of the results of the revolution the contribution of the liberal leaders is clearly placed first (p. 335 ff), and the final judgment on the liberals and radicals reads as follows: "The radicals were more determined in what they wanted, though they showed less sense of political responsibility and could not boast the intellectual eminence the liberals collectively possessed; their qualities of leadership were not as high as those of the liberals. On the other hand, the liberals lacked the sense of social responsibility the radicals displayed. For the Czech nation, the ideal leadership would have been a compound of liberals and radicals" (p. 344). Does this sound like unchecked bias in favor of radicals?

I am further charged with "the stressing of social and economic issues over the main theme of nationality conflict." Even a perfunctory perusal of the book reveals that I did nothing of the kind. Large portions of the book are devoted to the theme of conflict between nationalities, especially between Czechs and Germans and between Slavs and Magyars. One whole chapter

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deals with the Czech-German conflict over Frankfurt, and every important movement is related to the Czech-German problem. The existence of a Czech-German conflict is noted in institutions ranging from the radical Student Committee (p. 317) to the moderate National Committee (p. 115). The implications of the conflict are clearly shown in the two important uprisings affecting the Czech lands, the June uprising in Prague and the October revolution in Vienna. An important part in both movements was played by the workers, and I stressed the fact that their attitude was largely determined by nationality: the uprising in Prague evoked no significant friendly response among German workers, and the Viennese revolution produced no reaction among Czech workers (p. 300). The nationality conflict also dominated the Imperial Parliament, and this is illustrated in the appropriate parts of the book; in fact, the debates in the Imperial Parliament are characterized as a "contest between the Czechs and the German left" (p. 172). Attention is drawn to the elements of discord in the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks, and a separate chapter is devoted to it. In the concluding reflections on the significance of the Czech revolution of 1848 I wrote that "first and foremost, the year 1848 constituted a landmark in the history of the Czechs as a nationality" (p. 335) and added that "conflict between nations, more than between classes, shaped the revolution and its final outcome" (p. 337).

There is no equivocation here, and all these examples show that the opinions attributed to me by Zacek are a product of his own fantasy and have nothing in common with my book. Like earlier accounts my book recognizes the importance of nationality and of the national liberal leaders. Unlike these accounts it goes beyond nationality and probes the vast social substratum without which the events of the year 1848 cannot be fully understood. When he refers to this substratum (radical democrats, peasants, workers) as my "favored social groups," Zacek only succeeds in displaying his lack of familiarity with the dominant trends in European historiography. Social history and the social groups in question have been increasingly "favored" in recent decades by the historians of Western Europe, and these trends were intensified particularly after World War II. Zacek will find the main trends characterized briefly in my chapter in *East Central Europe: A Guide to Basic Publications*, ed. Paul L. Horecky (1969), but for his benefit I can at least allude here to the foundation of the *International Review of Social History* (1956) and the *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* (1961), not to mention the long established French *Annales*. In this connection, it is instructive to compare the chapter on 1848 written by Theodor Schieder for the ninth edition of Gebhardt's *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte* (1970) with the same chapter Schieder wrote for the eighth edition of this work a decade earlier. The 1970 version contains new material on political organizations, including the organizations of the working class and the radical democrats. The world moves on, but Zacek continues to treat history as it was treated fifty years ago. Finally I might add that when Zacek complains of an inordinate amount of repetition that has "escaped both the author and the editors" and completely fails to note that the question is explained in the preface, he is only supplying further evidence of a case of corroded professional ethics. His conduct places in proper perspective the rest of his review, including the infantile allusion to my book as an exposition "successfully maintained at the level of the nonspecialist." For a man who has yet to make a major contribution to the field, he ought to be more circumspect when appraising the work of others.

STANLEY Z. PECH
University of British Columbia

PROFESSOR ZACEK REPLIES:

I almost expected Mr. Pech's letter. He reveals an addiction to polemics in his book, where he rants against persons who have been dead for more than a century.

If Mr. Pech's book consisted only of its last chapter there would be far less cause for disagreement. His concluding reflections, which prudently place the traditional stress on the nationality question and the role of the liberal bourgeoisie, represent the Czech revolution of 1848 accurately. They do not, however, reflect the rest of his book accurately. Matching quotations and references to selected portions of the book with Mr. Pech would not be difficult, but it would not settle the issue. Those who are

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curious about the emphases and biases in the remaining fourteen chapters will have to labor through them, as I did. I think they will find that, in manner and breadth of treatment, Mr. Pech clearly favors the Czech radicals and the social and economic "have-nots" (peasants, workers, students, women, and "the young"). He nurses them solicitously through the chronological part of the work and devotes the topical part almost entirely to them. Whether he has chosen (or fallen into) this approach because he personally sympathizes with them, because he identifies social history exclusively with their concerns and activities, or because he is mindlessly following a historiographical trend, is irrelevant. With his exaggerated attention to elements that played a subordinate, even negligible role in the revolution, he has distorted what readers will expect to be a basic, balanced introduction to the subject. That this book is long likely to be the only comprehensive account of the revolution available in English and that it cannot be questioned effectively by anyone who does not read Czech, only makes this distortion more serious.

Mr. Pech is so anxiously overprotective of his belated firstborn that he discovers sinister intentions everywhere. Not only does he ignore the favorable comments I made about the book (I concluded that it "will serve as an important reference work for American scholars and students for a long time to come"), but he misinterprets one of them as a slur. That "infantile allusion" of mine meant that I thought he had succeeded in pitching his treatment to make it intelligible to readers who are not specialists in Czech history. As both the book jacket and the preface recommend the book to a varied readership, I assume that was his intention. If he wrote the book primarily for Czech specialists, he wasted his time. There is little in it to enlighten historians in Czechoslovakia, and the handful of such specialists working abroad can refer to the same extensive Czech bibliography from which Mr. Pech extracted most of his own account. Both groups also have unhindered access to the Czechoslovak archives, which he managed only to sample through intermediaries.

In the preface Mr. Pech "explains" the repetitious character of his text with the well-worn alibi that, given the chronological-topical format he has chosen, "a certain amount of repetition was, under the circumstances, unavoidable" (p. ix). I think that he is far more tolerant and fatalistic about the problem than he needs to be. Perhaps he is not really concerned about it because he doubts that many will be able to afford the "luxury" of reading his monograph from cover to cover (p. viii). As one of the affluent few, my criticism was that "there is an inordinate amount of verbatim repetition within as well as between" chapters. The book scarcely needs more hackneyed phrases; it needs painstaking, laborious editing for redundant content and extravagant style.

I see that I have upset Mr. Pech by ignoring the place he has assigned me in his personal hierarchy and by writing my review without the ritual deference to his age, his years of service in the ranks, and his self-image. He will have to face it: the field is changing, and sycophants are becoming almost as scarce as polemicists in it. To quote Mr. Pech's own, typically acute observation, "the world moves on."

JOSEPH F. ZACEK
State University of New York, Albany

TO THE EDITOR:

Orest Ranum's review of my book *Cardinal de Retz: The Anatomy of a Conspirator* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 2068) grossly misrepresents it. "Is there a layer of conscious or unconscious rationalization or distortion in Retz's memoirs?" he asks. "The question would seem to be elementary for historical biography, but it is never posed." Far from being "never posed," this question is the theme of the book. It is stated in the opening chapter, infused throughout all those that follow, and analyzed in depth in chapter 14, where the motives behind the memoirs, conscious and unconscious, are set forth. Moreover Mr. Ranum is incorrect when he asserts that Retz's often erroneous account of affairs has not been checked against the accounts of his contemporaries. Perhaps your reviewer's crass distortion of what I wrote can be attributed to his own conscious and unconscious rationalizations in defense of the establishment of Richelieu and Mazarin.

J. H. M. SALMON
Bryn Mawr College

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PROFESSOR RANUM REPLIES:

In the preface of his book Professor Salmon states: "So many documents concerning the life of Cardinal de Retz have been collected that the biographer is almost embarrassed by the wealth of objective fact he must set against the enigmatic evidence of the cardinal's own memoirs." Not every biographer is so fortunate in having his primary sources collected and published, as well as older though sound biographies to rely on; indeed, these documents, Retz's *Mémoires,* and the works on Retz represent an extraordinary opportunity to write an analytical biography that synthesizes Retz's activities with his ideas and his social milieu. Professor Salmon states in his preface that this is what he set out to do; but if he has indeed compared Retz's career with the *Mémoires* and reconstructed his life and ideas on this basis, he has not presented the results of these endeavors to the reader.

Instead we find a succinct narrative of the cardinal's activities centering on the theme that Retz played many different roles in his life while searching for his identity. Everyone would accept, I think, that Retz searched for his identity. What is not explained is what roles he thought he was playing and how his words and deeds influenced his success or failure in playing them. Professor Salmon states at the beginning of chapter 14: "The character of Cardinal de Retz was not fixed in his early manhood, to be thereafter exhibited unchanged in every phase and action of his life." This point is proved beyond a doubt in the biography, but such rudimentary analysis is not a substitute for assessing Retz's aims at different times in his career or for showing how he intellectualized them later on. Indeed, the theme that "he searched for his identity" is repeated so often that it becomes a commonplace.

Then there is the problem of using the memoirs, not only Retz's but also the many others written by the cardinal's friends and enemies. Professor Salmon has been honest in telling us that these have been his principal sources in verifying Retz's account. Salmon's practice of citing one memoir to verify another may give the reader the impression that the work is less authoritative than it is.

I know from experience how difficult it is to reconstruct the high politics of seventeenth-century France almost entirely out of letters, but since the letters of Retz, Mazarin, Sévigné, and others are already published, it would have been particularly valuable if Professor Salmon had used them to reconstruct Retz's activities for at least a few critical months in the Fronde or during some other period worth elucidating. After such a reconstruction some insight into the possible patterns of rationalizations and distortions that Retz developed in the *Mémoires* might have been possible. These terms were mine; they in no way reflect the more traditional literary way in which Professor Salmon presents Retz. "Rationalization and distortion" is perhaps overharsh, and I apologize if these terms implied something sinister to Professor Salmon. By deliberately choosing them in my review I tried to point out the need for developing the sort of biographical and intellectual analysis that is being attempted in studies about numerous other old men who wrote about their careers once they no longer had any realistic hope of winning power. Are the conceptions of the monarchy, society, human nature, and religion that shaped Retz's life consistent with his ideas as presented in the *Mémoires?* Professor Salmon's distinguished contributions to the study of early modern political thought, literature, and revolts eminently qualify him to write such an intellectual biography, but he has not done so.

True, in chapter 14 Professor Salmon makes some valuable suggestions about why Retz became an autobiographer: "There was also a curiosity to re-examine the past, and the vanity in re-interpreting it," and "The facts in any situation were no more important to Retz than the possibilities inherent in them," but the search for patterns, themes, or explanations for the particular way in which Retz looked at himself is not undertaken, nor is there any attempt to compare Retz's explanation of his career with that of the other great memoir writers who were his contemporaries. The Frondeurs and not a few anti-Frondeurs looked back on 1648–52 as the great moment of their lives, and they frequently exaggerated their roles in those turbulent events. Did Retz? Professor Salmon does not address himself to this basic question, one every biographer must ask.

Finally, I regret that Professor Salmon was so brief in his discussion of what he suggested were my own motives for writing the review I

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did. I should have liked to know why Richelieu is mentioned in this context and also what the term "establishment" means when applied to Richelieu and Mazarin. And how can the suggestion that an author has not been "quite fair" or that an "impartial perspective is almost unconsciously lost" be construed as a defense of anyone or anything?

OREST RANUM
The Johns Hopkins University

TO THE EDITOR:

I would like to take issue with John J. Rumbarger's review of *The American Myth of Success* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 2139).

Mr. Rumbarger writes that he found the book confusing and then proceeds to a somewhat incoherent diatribe against the study of ideas and the book's purported failure to relate ideology to empirical reality.

I was careful to point out that this book is about attitudes toward success and that it is not a mobility study. As such, it is primarily an analysis of ideas. This is not to say, however, that the book is not concerned with the empirical facts of life. Had Mr. Rumbarger read carefully beyond the introduction—the few references he uses are all from the first fifteen pages of the book—he would have discovered abundant discussion of the social circumstances that provided the context in which the success myth flourished. Indeed, one of the central purposes of the study is to show the tension and interaction between the myth and empirical realities. Historians reviewing the book have all noted this fact. Mr. Rumbarger's failure to do so must stem either from cursory reading or simple inability to comprehend.

In criticizing the book's treatment of New Thought, Mr. Rumbarger again betrays his ignorance. His statement that "New Thought writers, virtually all of them class-conscious, Eastern metropolitans, set out to neutralize the Protestant ethic's political potential" is simply incorrect. The first half of the statement does not hold up under empirical investigation. The second implies a kind of self-conscious conspiracy that, at best, must be described as naive. Again, had Mr. Rumbarger taken the trouble to read carefully, he would have found an explanation of the relation of New Thought to the Protestant ethic and the functional relation of both to American capitalism.

Finally, I must object to the review's utter lack of professional acumen. The historical issues raised by *The American Myth of Success* are never engaged. The review does not render meaningful criticism; it simply misses the point.

RICHARD WEISS
University of California, Los Angeles

MR. RUMBARGER REPLIES:

I did not fault Richard Weiss for failing to do a study of social mobility, nor did I dismiss the study of ideas. I argued that Weiss's approach to the latter—"intellectual analysis"—was ahistorical and that its operational premise fatally weakened the book. His communication to the *AHR* repeats the error: "Indeed, one of the central purposes of the study is to show the tension and interaction between the myth and empirical realities." In my review I argued that the success myth took on a life of its own and that its persistence was explained by its adaptability to historical exigency. My objection to Weiss's conceptualization is that the success myth itself is an integral part of the empirical reality under consideration, whereas Weiss establishes a false dichotomy between them. The socioeconomic and political imperatives of the proponents and critics of the success myth thus recede into the background as "the broader fabric of our civilization," and Weiss must bridge the gap he has unnecessarily created by resorting to questionable historiographical theories like Turner's (pp. 17–27) or some other variant of Progressive reformism (pp. 128–29, 187–88) in order to reintegrate the myth and its background.

Weiss's methodology precluded an adequate investigation of other imperatives that were operative in conjunction with the development of the success myth and that help to explain its history better than do Puritanism and Transcendentalism. It is for this reason that Weiss fails to note the large number of Eastern metropolitans who became associated with the New Thought movement: William James, James H. Hyslop, Elbert Hubbard, Benjamin O. Flower, Orison S. Marden, Rev. Wilber F. Crafts, Louis

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F. Post, Albert Shaw, and others. Weiss ignores the evidence in his own book of this group's metropolitanism (p. 131) and class consciousness (p. 192 n. 79). The fact that a sophisticated minority of New Thought advocates resurrected Emerson ("I fear the popular notion of success" [p. 98]), at the very time when a resurgent spirit of Algerism hectored the emerging order, also escapes Weiss, who is moved to charge me with naiveté for proposing a counter hypothesis that endeavors to take these facts into account.

My suggestion that the New Thought movement sought to inhibit the Protestant Ethic, as expressed in Alger, appalls Weiss primarily because he views New Thought itself as part of the logical tradition of Puritanism, which he believes inhibits capitalist development (p. 27). But the available evidence shows that much more than an abstract religiosity underlay the development and spread of New Thought ideals. Consider the case of Orison Swett Marden, who Weiss suggests is archetypal of New Thought advocates (pp. 156–58). According to Weiss Marden's difficult childhood left him with a chronic sense of inadequacy and a desire to provide inspiration and guidance to his fellow men. His vehicle of expression was *Success* magazine, which as early as 1889, Weiss states, was advocating Progressive reforms (p. 119). But there are other aspects of Marden's career that bear upon any estimate of New Thought. Whatever the deprivations of his childhood, and whatever the sympathies he developed for his fellow man, "Lucky" Marden was, and remained, a driving, consummate entrepreneur. By the time he had finished college Marden had acquired $20,000 in capital, which he parlayed into a string of hotels across the Northeast, including one in Newport. Whatever Marden was doing in 1889, he was not advocating reform in the pages of *Success*. In the early nineties he pushed his operations into Kearney, Nebraska, where he became a "leading citizen" before going broke in 1892. Eventually Marden worked his way back to Boston, where in 1894 he cranked out his first book, *Pushing to the Front* (not cited by Weiss). The financial success of this book prompted the idea of a journal; but it was not until 1897 that Marden found the requisite capital in the person of Louis Klopsch, a religious philanthropist who had become involved with the incredible Rev. T. De Witt Talmadge, whose personal fortune increased apace with his notoriety. Thus was born *Success* magazine in 1897 (not 1889), from an operative ethic about on a par with that of the shell game and in circumstances that help explain its anticapitalist rhetoric quoted by Weiss out of context (pp. 100, 105).

The point is not, however, Weiss's careless and incomplete research (he appears not to have used volumes 3–14 of the first *Success*, or any succeeding volumes), but that New Thought developed within the matrix of a collapsing entrepreneurship that explains its anticapitalist rhetoric better than does an abstract Emersonian idealism. But just as Marden's entrepreneurial energies found an outlet in publishing with the aid of outside capital, so too entrepreneurship—which is secular, individualistic, and rationalist, not religious and corporate—has found within a dominant corporate capitalism small areas of activity that permit its continued existence. The operative exigencies of a dependent entrepreneurship also explain New Thought's abstract opposition to "excessive" competition from emulative have-nots and, hence, its public advocacy of pursuing inner peace and contentment of mind rather than filthy lucre. Today we find the persistence of New Thought attitudes—entrepreneurship, suspicion of popular sentiment, ambivalence toward the capitalist order on which it depends, and inane boosterism—in those (shrinking) areas of national life that remain open to venturous speculation. The Lions, Rotarians, Elks, and the like, whose lives are bound up in local real estate, franchise dealerships, independent consumer services, local construction, the resale of heavy durable goods, and the acquisition of local political office, are the advocates of Norman Vincent Peale and subscribers to *Reader's Digest*, which the corporate world keeps alive with its abundant advertisements.

In conclusion, I do not wish to concede by implication the validity of other parts of Weiss's analysis—particularly his quantum leaps from Cotton Mather to Benjamin Franklin to William H. McGuffey (pp. 26–32). When Jonathan Edwards meets Billie Sol Estes the relationship established will not be that of Abraham to Isaac.

JOHN J. RUMBARGER
American Historical Association

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TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Raul Hilberg's review (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1740) of Egmont Zechlin's *Die Deutsche Politik und die Juden im ersten Weltkrieg* summarizes the content of the book and apparently repeats, uncritically, a number of the author's confusing misstatements.

Lithuania's independence in 1918, and the fact that Jews were included in the cabinet, had nothing to do with the Germans and German policies but was accomplished by the Allies. In fact Jews participated in the efforts being made in Paris and Versailles to obtain the Allies' approval of Lithuania's independence. Similarly, Jewish autonomy in the Ukraine had scarcely anything to do with the German occupation of that country.

On the other hand it should be pointed out that the German military command made efforts to draw the Jewish population in Eastern Europe to their side. With the beginning of the invasion of Poland in 1914–15 the army distributed to the Jews a printed call in Hebrew and Yiddish seeking their support and assuring them of justice. (The copy in my possession bears the German stamp of a battalion and Fourth Company.) Addressed to the Jews in Poland and signed by the Supreme Command of the United German and Austro-Hungarian Armies, the call reminds the Jews of Russian oppression and the various pogroms (Kishnev, Homel, Bialystok, and Siedlec) and of the Beilis case. It gives assurance that the Germans come as redeemers: "Our flags bring you law and freedom, full equality, religious liberty, freedom to occupy all kinds of economic and cultural positions and work there in accordance with your spirit. . . . Great was your suffering under the iron yoke of Moscow. We are coming as friends. . . . Turn with confidence to the commanders of our army in your neighborhood. . . . Help to suppress the enemy and achieve victory and absolute freedom."

Actually, in the years of occupation of Poland and other East-European regions, Jewish army chaplains (*Feldrabbiner*) played a considerable role as intermediaries between the local Jews and the German-Austrian army, military and civil administration, and occupation forces. The Germans also made similar use of the representatives of German Jews—the Committee for the East, founded in Berlin, and the Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums—who were sent to Poland to work with the German administration on Jewish problems. In Warsaw, the seat of the German general government, the administration itself had organized a department of Jewish affairs headed by a German Jew, Dr. Ludwig Haas, a member of the German Reichstag. All this led to considerable vacillation—as Egmont Zechlin points out in other areas—between the for the most part civilized behavior of the Germans and the oppressive actions of the military regime and the anti-Semitic attitudes of some of its officials.

A story told in the private letters written home by one such Jewish representative in Warsaw, Dr. Emanuel Carlebach of Cologne, attached to the German education department, came to light recently (*Year Book* of the Leo Baeck Institute, vol. 6, 1960) and may be characteristic. In the spring of 1918, when the Germans were confiscating all the church bells in Poland in order to melt them down for the production of armaments, it happened that the local population in one of the Polish towns refused to let the German soldiers take the bells. The commander withdrew the few soldiers who were there for this purpose, thus avoiding a confrontation with the large crowd of Poles gathered there. Soon came a military order to the effect that if the bells were not delivered on a certain day all males of the town sixteen years and older would be deported to a camp for hard labor. It so happened that ninety per cent of the population of the town were Jews. They were included in the plans for deportation even though they had nothing to do with the church bells. The rabbis hurried to Warsaw requesting Dr. Carlebach's intervention. He was able to see the governor general in Warsaw, Hans Hartwig von Beseler, who after a long argument agreed to set machinery going to rescind the order. But a question he put to Dr. Carlbach is characteristic of his annoyance with the "pushy Jews." "How is it, rabbi," he asked Dr. Carlebach, "that when an order is issued concerning non-Jews there is no question about this order being executed; when it concerns Jews, however, it is almost impossible to implement?"

BERNARD D. WEINRYB
Dropsie University

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PROFESSOR HILBERG REPLIES:

I should like to make only three points in reply to Professor Weinryb's letter:

(1) The Lithuania described by Egmont Zechlin is the political entity created by Germany before Versailles. The Allies "accomplished" nothing prior to November 11, 1918.

(2) Jewish autonomy in the Ukraine was part of a turbulent history that began before the German occupation of the country in February 1918 and ended with Germany's withdrawal at the end of the year. Surely Germany's victory in the East had something "to do" with Jewish national assertion in the area.

(3) In the remaining portion of his letter Professor Weinryb does not say anything that contradicts, let alone invalidates, Zechlin's 600-page book or my own 400-word summary. I am sure that readers of the *American Historical Review* will be grateful to Professor Weinryb for his anecdotes, but they should be reassured that the book contains several chapters on Poland alone. Zechlin has written the most complete account of German policy toward Jewry in World War I. He does not whitewash the German army, and he does not forget to mention several manifestations of anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany. Readers who might harbor any suspicions in this regard need only consult the book itself.

RAUL HILBERG
University of Vermont

TO THE EDITOR:

This brief note is intended to correct a very serious error in the review of four books by Richard Marius, *AHR*, 75 (1969–70): 2033–35. On page 2034 Mr. Marius describes Joseph Lortz as a "notorious Nazi sympathizer to the bitter end." The fact is that, after an initial phase of hope in those desperate days that something good might come of the Nazi party—possibly a reflection of a scholar's political naiveté and an incredibly bad mistake to which Lortz freely confesses—he quickly became disillusioned and turned away from and against the movement. The review's harsh thrust is doubly unfortunate, for it makes an assertion that is not only untrue but one that could have been ascertained to be untrue if a serious effort had been made to do so.

LEWIS W. SPITZ
Stanford University

TO THE EDITOR:

May I draw your attention to a regrettable error in a review of various books on Luther by Richard Marius, *AHR*, 75 (1969–70): 2033–35. On page 2034 it is stated that Joseph Lortz, the internationally known Church historian from Luxembourg to whom contemporary Reformation studies owe so much, was "a notorious Nazi sympathizer to the bitter end." Actually, Lortz initially shared with many Germans mistaken expectations concerning the conciliability of a regime whose mendacious and criminal character was not immediately realized. The fact of his later association with Bishop Galen of Münster alone, however, should suffice to correct Marius' allegation.

It is needless to add that his *Reformation in Deutschland* (1939–40; republished several times since) was written from a Catholic standpoint. Luther's "contemporary validity" as a German folk hero notwithstanding, the work placed a politically unwelcome emphasis on the reformer as a *homo religiosus* who, moreover, had allowed his subjectivism to lead him to heretical positions (a view qualified only in the more recent studies of Lortz). If Erasmus was "despised," it was because of his relativism and adogmatism, rather than his cosmopolitanism—a Catholic evaluation that, besides, obviously reflected views then widely held among Erasmus scholars.

The review contains some other judgments the reader is tempted to take issue with. For example, on page 2033 we read that Gerhard Ebeling "ignores the centuries of critical scholarship since Luther" that have posed the problem of the inner unity of the Bible. This problem has been treated elsewhere by Ebeling, however. For nearly three decades Ebeling's work has centered, moreover, around the very hermeneutical problems created by those centuries, and his Luther book should be read in that light. Again on page 2034 recent ecumenical Reformation scholarship is apostrophized as "a handmaiden to saccharine religiosity." I would rather submit that it has provided a rare ex-

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ample of scholarly endeavors freeing us from deeprooted historical traumas and prejudices without subjecting us to new fixations.

HERMANN SCHÜSSLER
University of Maryland

PROFESSOR MARIUS REPLIES:

I shall admit to only one error in my remarks concerning Joseph Lortz. He was not merely a notorious Nazi sympathizer to the bitter end. He was a notorious member of the Nazi party to the bitter end. Lortz joined the party on May 1, 1933. I earlier refrained from mentioning his party membership because Lortz claimed he resigned after three years. But on checking Guenter Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964), I find the remark, "After the war Lortz claimed to have left the party in 1936, but his file at the Berlin Document Center has no record of this step" (p. 365).

Lortz wrote vigorously in favor of a Catholic alliance with the Nazi regime. Both Catholics and Nazis "were opposed to Bolshevism, liberalism, relativism, atheism, and public immorality, and had in common the espousal of corporatist principles, return to the Germanic sources of the German people and the importance of faith as something grand and heroic" (Lewy, p. 107). Lortz, who denounces Erasmus for cowardice, suffered nothing under the Nazis. He was never known to raise a single word of protest during Hitler's time for any of Hitler's crimes. The later association with Bishop Galen of Münster means nothing at all. Galen spoke out against some of Hitler's policies, but these were in matters of detail like euthanasia. He wanted Hitler to win the war, preached vehemently to this end, and was deeply committed to the old Germanic ideal that it was up to Germany to save the world whether the world wanted the peculiar German brand of salvation or not.

As to Mr. Spitz's remarks, are scholars not supposed to be men capable of moral judgment? The liberal historian is frequently seduced by those rapturous sirens who croon that a historian's history can somehow be separated from the totality of his life. But this is nonsense unless we make no distinction between the historian and the antiquarian. And when one thinks of Germans like Thomas Mann, Karl Barth, and Hajo Holborn who suffered during the Nazi time, it is shallow indeed to talk about "a scholar's political naiveté" as if men of letters were to be somehow exempt from the simple moral and human considerations that bind us all.

Mr. Spitz is of course free to accept Lortz's naked word that he recanted in 1936, and so is Mr. Schüssler. But this acceptance has some implications for their view of history. If a man says he did this and thought that in the past, are we simply to take his word and compose our minds to blissful certainty? I find that odd. And I still contend that an ecumenical movement that summons up Joseph Lortz as progenitor and guide is made of pretty shoddy stuff. Even in the New Testament the unpardonable sin is to confuse the works of God with the works of Satan, and if there was ever a satanic force in the history of the world, it was Nazism. I will admit with Mr. Schüssler that many Germans did not immediately realize the "mendacious and criminal character" of the Hitler regime. They were a pretty slow bunch, but that does not excuse them. Nor should we take their miraculous repentance in the ruins of defeat very seriously.

I am much taken with the suggestion of Karlheinz Holzschuh (*Der Spiegel,* Apr. 7, 1965) that the best thing Lortz could have done after the war was to enter a Trappist monastery. There he could have kept his mouth shut to the glory of God rather than filling the ears of the gullible with self-serving, self-pitying attempts to hide his monstrous guilt.

RICHARD MARIUS
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Professor Charles Chatfield regrets that in his article "World War I and the Liberal Pacifist in the United States" (*AHR,* 75 [1969–70]: 1920–37), Norman Angell's name was misspelled on page 1931 and that on page 1925 A. J. Muste was described as a Congregational minister when, of course, he was a Presbyterian. Professor Chatfield also regrets the omission in footnote 11 of an important work on the AUAM: Blanche W. Cook, "Woodrow Wilson and the Anti-Militarists, 1914–1918" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1970).

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Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

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Recent Deaths

ROBERT A. FEER, professor of history at Northeastern University, died on September 22, 1970. Prior to coming to Northeastern in 1963, Professor Feer was a resident tutor in history at Harvard and a member of the history departments at Dartmouth and Wellesley Colleges. At Northeastern he served as director of graduate studies in history and taught courses in American history. He pioneered in the introduction of Afro-American history at Northeastern.

MARK M. HEALD died in Princeton, New Jersey, on January 6, 1971, at the age of seventy-eight. He had been a member of the history faculty at Rutgers University from 1926 to 1955. Professor Heald was educated at Oberlin College, the University of Minnesota, and Columbia University. He had also been associated in his teaching career with Perkiomen School, Princeton and Fisk Universities, Lycoming and Trenton State Colleges, and the Educational Testing Service.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER, 1916–70. The year before he died Richard Hofstadter dedicated a book "To the Columbia Historians, My teachers, 1937–1942, My colleagues, 1946–." It was more than the dedication of a book, for it defined an institutional identification of a lifetime. He came to Columbia as a graduate student in 1937 after finishing college in his native Buffalo, and the remaining thirty-three years of his life, but for an interlude of four years between graduation and faculty appointment, were associated with Columbia. They were also years during which he was associated more broadly with the intense intellectual life of New York City, with a generation's struggle to define its place, and with a profession's efforts to solve its problems. In all these fields, in their local, national, and international aspects, he came to occupy a singularly important place. It is primarily with his role in the professional field that we are concerned here.

A person of unusual self-awareness, he rejected conventional formulas and struck out on his own to discover his individual interests, his own methods, styles, subjects, and definitions of history. He resisted either-or categories and sought original ways as a historian to reconcile his interest in both the past and the present, both art and science, political history and the history of ideas, the humanities and the social sciences, traditional narrative and analytical monograph, his Progressive school mentors and his revolt from them. He sought as well a freedom from the restraints of specialization imposed by tradition and a means of reaching a wider reading public than the one composed of his fellow craftsmen. These private rebellions, each consciously and deliberately waged, preoccupied much of his thought, influenced the choice of his subjects, and give shape to much of his writing.

"What started me off as a historian," he once remarked, "was a sense of engagement with contemporary problems." Fully aware of the risks involved, he nevertheless continued to "write history out of my engagement with the present," taking comfort from Karl Mannheim's view that this was "often the path to political insight." His initial and abiding interest in history was twofold: political history and the history of ideas. But he came to realize that his interest centered on "things marginal to both" and "lay between the two fields, at the intersection of their perimeters," and that he had to find "how the two might be put together."

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Again "Mannheim provided the link" with his feeling for style of thought, cultural configuration, and political style. Hofstadter called himself "a historian of political culture rather than of parties or institutions." His solution to combining the twofold interest in politics and ideas is illustrated in *The Age of Reform* (1955) and *The Idea of a Party System* (1969).

Concern for questions of social mobility, social status, generational conflict, and the sociology of knowledge led him to the social sciences. He never thought of history as a science or historians as social scientists, but he was strongly persuaded that the social sciences could act as a catalytic agent, "a fresh source of ideas," and an "addition to the speculative richness of history." He was personally not so much interested in the methods and techniques (and certainly not the vocabularies) of the social sciences as in their findings and the new problems and greater range and depth they opened to historical inquiry. Again, he sought means of linking two intellectual interests creatively. Such a union might also serve to reconcile the historian's conflicting traditions of historical narrative and scientific monograph. The social sciences offered "a special kind of opportunity to join these two parts of his tradition in a more effective way." The traditional narrative stood to gain in analytical depth, and the monograph in "the literary significance that was previously preeminent in the historical narrative." He strove to find a genre between the narrative and the monograph, more analytical than the former, more consciously literary than the latter. He described this genre tentatively as "a sort of literary anthropology" that would aim at portraiture of the life of nations, individuals, classes, and groups. His *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) and *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1965) may be thought of as experiments in this genre, though they illustrate many other interests, including his preoccupation with present-day problems, social mythologies, and mass behavior. The same interests inspired his last published work, *American Violence, A Documentary History* (with Michael Wallace, 1970).

While the three works last mentioned embody a characteristic concern for irrational and neurotic impulses in American life that were manifest most often in low-brow mythologies and behavior, Hofstadter also addressed himself in several works to the history of articulate theories and portraiture of the most articulate classes. These interests are illustrated to an extent in *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (1944) and *The Idea of a Party System*, but more specifically in *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948). In the latter work he drew with measured strokes a portrait gallery of the foremost spokesmen of national political life. In the considerable body of writing he left on the history of higher education, notably in *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (with C. DeWitt Hardy, 1952) and *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (with Walter Metzger, 1955), he was primarily concerned with the highest levels of thought and leadership in this field.

More central to his interests than educational history was his lifelong preoccupation with historiography. This concern, like so many of his intellectual motives, was rooted in personal needs. "I think," he said, "where one gets one's intellectual impetus is reacting against ideas one has felt strongly." The ideas of the Progressive school of American historians, especially those of Charles A. Beard and Vernon L. Parrington, had been strongly felt influences in his youth. (He was "too much of an Easterner" to fall under the spell of Turner or Phillips.) It was necessary for him to get them out of his system in order to establish his autonomy. He began the effort early and continued it in numerous articles. His final reckoning with them was *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (1968). He referred to his efforts lightly as "parricidal forays," but in fact he dealt in a civil and sympathetic manner with his forebears and their problems, even though he left their professional reputations in ruins. The book is probably the most subtle and searching piece of historical criticism in our literature.

While Richard Hofstadter's rebellions were tempered and thoughtful, his defiance of the traditions that bound the academic historian to specialization and confined his reading public to specialists, his shift of perspective from the provinces to the metropolis, and his daring ex-

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periments with new disciplines, new forms, and new subjects provoked criticism. What R. R. Palmer wrote of his teacher, Carl Becker, might be said of Hofstadter: "He tried to discover, persuade, reanimate, evoke, or suggest; he did not expect to 'prove.' . . . He was not an archival scholar, nor primarily a research scholar . . . and preferred published to unpublished materials." This left him vulnerable to attack on substantive findings and hypothetical assumptions such as the status interpretation. The rebel nevertheless went his way undeterred, returning a soft answer or no answer to critics, expecting to be corrected, even supplanted. Acknowledging the relativity of his own as well as others' history, he insisted on "a certain tentativeness" about his writings and was dismayed at the assumption that "the ideas you advance are your final thoughts on the subject." He never became the prisoner of his ideas, never posed as the founder of a "school," was ever in search of new truth and insight, and ever conscious of his own limitations. Yet there will be many, including myself, who would agree with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. that he was "the most distinguished American historian of his generation." For them the enduring qualities that earned him his place are the passion and dedication he devoted to his work, the grace, the elegance, and the insight of his writings, and the indomitable spirit with which he lived the life of the mind.

Death came on October 24, 1970, after a long fight against leukemia. He met this with the same fortitude and absence of self-pity with which he faced life. He is survived by his son Daniel, his daughter Sarah, and his wife Beatrice Kevitt Hofstadter. He left many students indebted to him. He left vacant a place in his profession no one could presume to fill. And he left his friends with an inexpressible sense of loss.

C. VANN WOODWARD
Yale University

JOHN M. H. LINDBECK, director of the East Asian Institute at Columbia University, died January 9, 1970, in Danbury, Connecticut. The son of a Lutheran missionary, Dr. Lindbeck was born in China and spent most of his childhood there. He received the Ph.D. from Yale University in 1948 and subsequently taught at Princeton and Yale. From 1952 to 1958 he served in the State Department as public affairs adviser on Chinese affairs; from 1959 to 1967 he was research fellow in Chinese studies at Harvard and associate director of the East Asia Research Center. At the time of his death Dr. Lindbeck had recently completed a survey of China studies here and abroad for the Ford Foundation. He was also active on committees of the American Council of Learned Societies–Social Science Research Council, the Universities Service Center in Hong Kong, and the National Academy of Sciences, among others. His *Government in China: The Management of a Revolutionary Society* is to be published by the University of Washington Press.

DAVID J. MAYS, biographer and head of the now-defunct Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, died in Richmond on February 17, 1971, at the age of seventy-four. A lawyer and lecturer in law at the University of Richmond, Mr. Mays was also interested in the colonial and revolutionary periods of Virginia history. In 1953 he received a Pulitzer Prize for his two-volume biography *Edmund Pendleton 1721–1803*. A second work, *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton*, was published in 1967. From 1963 to 1966 Mr. Mays was chairman of the Virginia Historical Society.

JOHN H. POWELL, former director of research at the Free Library of Philadelphia, died January 1, 1970, in Ottumwa, Iowa. Dr. Powell received his doctorate in history at the University of Iowa; he served on the faculty at that university and at the universities of Delaware and Texas. He was the author of *Bring Out Your Dead* (1950), a chronicle of the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia; *Richard Rush, Republican Diplomat* (1942); and *The Books of a New Nation: United States Government Publications 1774–1814* (1957). He recently published *General Washington's Jackass*, a collection of popular historical essays.

Death came to a disillusioned CLINTON L. ROSSITER III on July 11, 1970, when the distinguished historian and political scientist took his own life. He was John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions at Cornell University.

One of the leading authorities on American

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constitutional history and political theory, Rossiter taught briefly at Michigan in 1946 before going to Cornell, where he moved from instructor to professor in eight years and served as chairman of the government department from 1956 to 1959, when he became John L. Senior Professor. An industrious scholar of imagination and broad interests, Rossiter was a prolific publisher whose research spanned the fields of American history and government, ranging from the seventeenth century to the present. His first book, *Constitutional Dictatorship* (1948), combined his undergraduate training in classics at Cornell with his graduate training in politics at Princeton, surveying crisis governments in the modern democracies of France, Great Britain, and Germany after examining the governments of ancient Rome. Shifting to the American experience, he then analyzed *The Supreme Court and the Commander in Chief* (1951), a study of presidential power in wartime.

For his volume on the origins of the American tradition of political liberty, *Seedtime of the Republic* (1953), he won the Bancroft Prize for "distinguished writing in American history," the Woodrow Wilson Award for the "best publication of the year in the field of government and democracy," and the Book Prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture for the "best book in the field of early American history." His other major publications include *Conservatism in America* (1955; rev. ed., 1962), winner of the Charles A. Beard Prize; *The American Presidency* (1956), which has been translated into more than thirty languages; *Parties and Politics in America* (1960); *Marxism: The View from America* (1960); *Alexander Hamilton and the Constitution* (1964); and *1787: The Grand Convention* (1966). At the time of his death he was making final revisions on *The American Quest,* a study of American politics from Jefferson to Lincoln. Completed by his wife, the former Mary Ellen Crane of Milwaukee, it will be published in the spring of 1971. Rossiter also edited four volumes, including *The Essential Lippman* (with James Lare, 1963) and an excellent edition of *The Federalist* (1961).

Between his doctorate in 1942 and his first teaching position in 1946, Rossiter served as a Navy gunnery officer in World War II, "a service of which he spoke seldom," according to one of his colleagues, "yet in which he took quiet pride." He served as a consultant to the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, member of the board of directors of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, and chairman of the council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. He also headed the Fund for the Republic's multivolume study of communism in American life, serving as general editor and writing one of the volumes.

A lecturer of lucidity, exuberence, wit, and occasional flippancy, Rossiter was a popular platform performer, teaching and lecturing at more than fifty colleges and universities in the United States and on every continent. Although he was a student of American conservatism, he denied that he was a follower of Edmund Burke, affirming instead that "my mentors have been Adams, Madison, Hamilton, Jefferson and Lincoln." Whether appearing as Pitt Professor at Cambridge University or as lecturer in India, Japan, or Russia, he was always the eloquent interpreter of American life and society, stressing as he did for the President's Commission on *Goals for Americans* (1960) that "the essence of the democratic process has been respect for the rules; the guaranty of this respect in the public arena has been the spirit and practices of constitutionalism. Constitutionalism is the generic label for all those arrangements and techniques —separation of powers, checks and balances, due process, bill of rights, the rule of law— that force our governors to think, talk, bargain, and explain before they act, and that institutionalize the procedures through which public policy is made, administered, and enforced."

But the events in America at large and at Cornell in particular dealt a series of shattering blows to Rossiter's optimism in the 1960s. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy, the endless morass of Vietnam, and the crisis at Cornell in April 1969, where arms made their first appearance on any American campus, created "an incredible conflict for him," as one of his close colleagues observed. Torn between his respect for the existing university rules and his pragmatic assessment of the extraordinary pressures that seemed to him to threaten Cornell, he first led faculty action to apply the rules, then

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backed the university administration's proposal to waive the rules, which was finally done when the faculty reversed itself. Caught in the middle and too often disowned by both sides, Rossiter became increasingly isolated, frustrated, and disillusioned with American life and ultimately with life itself. Perhaps his colleague and friend of more than twenty years, Dean Alfred E. Kahn of Cornell's College of Arts and Sciences, put it best: "He was an immensely complicated man—in a way noble, in a way intensely human and vulnerable. He was a famous man, and deservedly so. He was a man of intense loyalties—to his family, his friends, his teachers, his students, to every school he ever attended, but above all to Cornell, and to his country; he wrote and lectured about them brilliantly; and it was deeply painful to him when he thought his country was unfaithful to them."

Whatever may have been the reasons for his death, his life and writings stand as an enduring monument to the man and to his concern for a workable system of ethical, ordered liberty.

JAMES MORTON SMITH
State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin

With the death in Göttingen on November 12, 1970, of PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM the world of scholarship lost a historian of renown, Germany an illustrious citizen, and the Georg Augusta University an emeritus professor whose pressence on its faculty since 1929 had added immeasurably to its fame. Percy Schramm was born in Hamburg on October 14, 1894, the son of Dr. Max Schramm and Olga O'Swald. Dr. Max in his time was senator and also burgomeister of the Free City. During the First World War he served as civil governor of the province of Antwerp. The son never forgot his family inheritance and retained always a deeply felt affinity for the historic city where he is now buried. It was in the gymnasium there that he received the solid training on which his brillant later career was to rest. He served as a young officer in the Hussars during the last months of the imperial regime, an experience that prepared him for service later during the Second World War.

Following the customary German tradition Schramm studied at various centers—Munich, Hamburg, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Kiel, Marburg, and Heidelberg, where he took the doctorate. He was greatly influenced by Karl Hampe, whose admirable history of the German emperors during Salian and Hohenstaufen times he had found in a little Thuringian bookshop. This book first directed Schramm's attention to many of the topics he was later to examine with keen insight and perceptive attention. In 1925 Percy married Ehrengard von Thadden, who survives him, as do their three sons and nine grandchildren. The family circle was warm and affectionate, and the intimacy of this charming group—a lively and active one—was shared by colleagues and friends. Percy Schramm was a man with many friends, and he enjoyed having them about him. He was generous in his relations with students and liked their company. While Shreve fellow at Princeton in 1933 he was impressed by the natural, easy relations between faculty and students and hoped to introduce something of this American informality to his Göttingen setting. There is evidence that he succeeded in doing so.

Schramm's first academic appointment was as lecturer at Heidelberg. It was there he became acquainted with Ernst Kantorowicz, to whom he dedicated one of his most recent studies concerning the Emperor Frederick II. Like so many young German scholars of his day he worked for a number of years with the editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. In 1929 he became ordinarius at Göttingen and remained permanently on the faculty there until he became professor emeritus in 1963. The tranquility of university life in Germany was shattered for him as for so many others by events following the rise of Hitler and the disruption of old traditions. These were sad days for them all. In March of 1943, long after he had been recalled for military service, Schramm succeeded Helmuth Greiner as officer responsible for the daily War Diary of the High Command. Later, with Greiner, he published large sections of this invaluable and revealing document. With the end of hostilities and his release from captivity by the Allied command, he resumed the life of the scholar at Göttingen.

It was in the postwar years that he was to come into his own. Honors and recognition of every sort came to him. The amount of work he undertook and completed was prodigious.

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He prized especially appointment to the Ordre "Pour le Mérite" für Wissenschaften und Künste and served with pride until his death as its chancellor. He felt greatly honored when with other scholars he received papal permission to examine in St. Peter's the throne that he concluded was the one sent to Rome by Charles the Bald for the coronation of 875. He was a member of the academies of Göttingen, Stockholm, Spoleto, and Vienna and of the Mediaeval Academy of America. He received honors from many universities, most recently a doctorate from the University of Ankara. All this recognition he accepted with the modesty that marked his whole life.

Only a man of exceptional endowments of intellect and physical stamina could have equaled Schramm's accomplishments. He wrote in excess of twenty-five books; most of them are mighty tomes, and some multivolume works. Moreover, many of his hundreds of articles and reviews are of book length. A large portion of these are now available in the five volumes of his *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1968–71). As the years passed his interests became ever more extended. Though writings on medieval subjects dominate his bibliography, there are also works in modern and contemporary history, works like his *Hamburg, Deutschland und die Welt* (1943), the *Neun Generationen* (1963–64), and the charming *Hamburger Biedermeier* (1962)—all inspired by the unforgettable Hamburg background. Then, too, there are the military studies—the *Kriegstagebuch* (1961–65), the edition of Hitler's *Tischspräche* (1963), and *Hitler als militärischer Führer* (1962). Many of the medieval studies concern problems of the German emperors, whose conceptions of power, privilege, and self-esteem he examined not only through chancery sources and other historical writings, but also with skillful attention to documents customarily reserved for the art historian and archeologist. The study that launched him on his splendid academic career is his fine *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (1929), so significant for an understanding of the revival of imperial ideas and claims from the time of the later Carolingians to the era of the investiture strife. No reference to Schramm's scholarship can fail to include mention of his many studies of the coronation traditions of medieval kings and emperors. He had the rare privilege of being present in Westminster Abbey at the coronation of George VI. It is reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury warned his auxiliaries that mistakes in the *ordo* had to be avoided because they would all be watched by Schramm, who surely knew more than any one of them about the rite in which they were participants. A recent reviewer is justified in calling these studies pioneering works.

Percy Schramm was a man of great fortitude and insatiable curiosity. He loved people, enjoyed travel, and possessed tremendous powers of will and great vitality that allowed him to accept and complete heavy tasks. His duties as professor, lecturer, and traveler refreshed him, and he could turn from them with renewed strength to long hours at his desk, where innumerable challenges always awaited him. One pictures him there, comforted by pen and notes and the big cigar, completely happy in his chosen work. Even in his later years he did not shrink from challenge, yet recently he had realized that his days of heavy, demanding work were over. "A truly great scholar has left us," one of his friends writes, "and no longer will he lug his bag heavy with books through the Theatrestrasse. Göttingen is the poorer." On November 19 last his family and friends, representatives of state, province, and city, delegations from many learned societies, and many of his students honored his memory at a simple, moving service in the University Church of St. Nicholas. It was as he had wished. Percy Schramm had unknowingly given his own best epitaph when he wrote the concluding sentence of the last preface from his pen. "Doch," he said, "nun genug der Entschuldigen! Jeder tut, was er kann." He will be greatly missed.

GRAY C. BOYCE
Northwestern University

ROBERT S. STAROBIN died at the age of thirty-one on February 15, 1971, at his farm home in Owego, New York. After receiving his undergraduate degree at Cornell in 1961, he earned the Ph.D. under Kenneth Stampp at the University of California at Berkeley in 1968. His dissertation, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South, 1790–1861*, was published by Oxford University Press in 1970 and has contributed new insights into the nature of slavery. In addition to pub-

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lishing several articles in journals and anthologies, he edited *Denmark Vesey: The Slave Conspiracy of 1822* (1970), and he was in the final stages of editing a collection of letters by slaves to be entitled "Slavery As It Was." At the time of his death, Professor Starobin was pursuing his revisionist work on slavery through a study dealing with the relationships between masters and privileged slaves, the processes of accomodation and resistance under slavery, and the protonationalistic ideology of those blacks who identified with Liberia before the Civil War. The American Council of Learned Societies had awarded him a grant to work on this project during the 1971–72 academic year.

Professor Starobin's teaching career began at the University of Wisconsin in 1966; he was a postdoctoral fellow of the Cornell University Society for the Humanities in 1969–70, and in September 1970 he was appointed associate professor of history at the State University of New York at Binghamton. Students will remember his devotion to teaching, his excellence in pursuing that art, and his concern for them as individuals. Former colleagues will also recall his readiness to give of his time in criticizing their work and in offering valuable suggestions. He leaves a legacy to students, colleagues, and numerous friends of dedicated teaching and scholarship, combined with an activist concern for his fellow man.

RICHARD M. DALFIUME
State University of New York, Binghamton

PHILIP JOHN STAUDENRAUS, professor of history at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, died on January 15, 1971. Born on December 28, 1928, at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, he received his B.A. from Ripon College and his M.A. from the University of Chicago. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin under the supervision of the late William B. Hesseltine. Staudenraus' earlier teaching positions were at the University of Kansas City and at the University of California at Davis. His major published work was *The African Colonization Movement, 1815–1865* (1961); he also edited three other books and left in press an interpretive history of the Jacksonian period. He wrote articles on a wide variety of subjects, centering mainly on the middle period. He was active as a teacher and scholar almost to the hour of his early death.

RAYMOND PHINEAS STEARNS died during the night of November 14, 1970 while visiting in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Family and friends had known his health to be bad for several years, but it was thought to be improving.

Professor Stearns was born in Orion Township, Fulton County, Illinois, in January 1904. He graduated from Illinois College at Jacksonville in 1925 and taught high school for two years before beginning graduate work at Harvard. There he earned the M.A. degree in 1931 and the Ph.D. in 1934; his doctoral thesis, "Hugh Peter: a Biography," was written under the direction of Samuel Eliot Morison.

Following the doctorate, Stearns studied for two years in England and Holland and then became head of the department of history at Lake Forest College. In 1937 he moved to the University of Illinois, where he rose to the position of full professor in 1947. In 1970 he resigned from the Illinois history staff to become director of graduate studies in history at Illinois Normal University. He had time to make only a beginning of this new career before his death.

Professor Stearns was a successful teacher at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. For years he taught the basic course in modern European history at Illinois and later returned to his first love, the American colonial period. He had a constantly growing interest in the history of science and especially in the Royal Society, at whose London headquarters he carried on frequent investigations. His later writings were mostly on scientific history.

During thirty-three years at the University of Illinois Stearns directed more graduate dissertations than did any other member of the history department in the same period. The Ph.D.'s whose work he supervised now teach in all parts of the United States, and several have become leading scholars.

Stearns was a prolific writer who combined a literary style with a thorough grasp of the subjects he investigated. Of his books, the leading ones until the last are probably *Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands* (1940), *A Pageant of Europe* (1947, followed by several later editions), *The Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter* (1954), and *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*

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by Martin Lister (1967). What will surely be considered his outstanding work is *Science in the British Colonies of America* (1970), published shortly before his death. Professor Stearns also published numerous articles in journals in Great Britain and the United States and wrote nearly a hundred book reviews.

CHARLES E. NOWELL
Fresno, California

Other members of the Association who have died recently include: Bunyan H. Andrew of Bloomington, Illinois; F. C. Bald of Boca Raton, Florida; the Reverend W. Busch of St. Paul, Minnesota; B. C. Clutts of Greensboro, North Carolina; C. J. Harribine of Easton, Maine; R. T. Pell of New York City; and L. Simonson of Fergus Falls, Minnesota.

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The American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003

President: Joseph R. Strayer, *Princeton University*
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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership is about 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's annual meeting takes place on December 28–30. The meeting in 1971 will be held in New York City. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report*, the *AHA Newsletter*, a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, and bibliographical and other volumes. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers many other services. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

PRIZES: The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of $300 awarded annually for a work in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* of $300 awarded annually for a work on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of $5,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of $1,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries. The *John H. Dunning Prize* of $300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a book on any subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History* of $500 awarded in the odd-numbered years beginning in 1969. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of $500 awarded every five years to that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years (next award, 1971). The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of $100 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1971). The *Watumull Prize* of $500 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Until July 1, 1971, annual regular dues are $15.00, student $7.50 (faculty signature required), emeritus $7.50, spouse $7.50, and life $300. All members receive the *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

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The American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are two categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, $20.00 per year.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, and the program of the annual meeting of the Association, $25.00 per year.

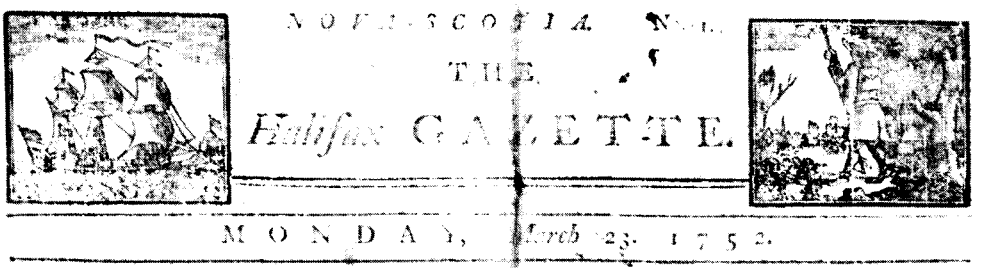
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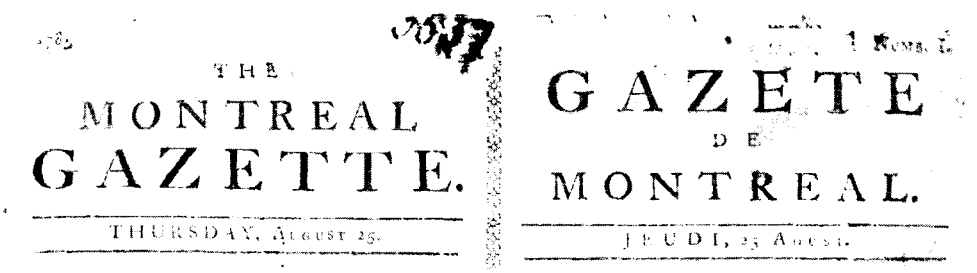
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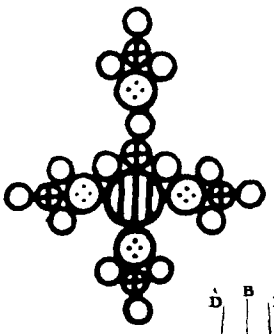
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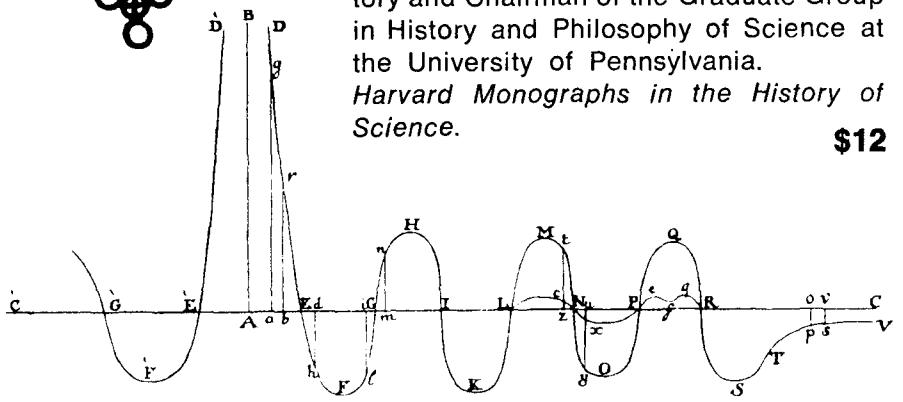
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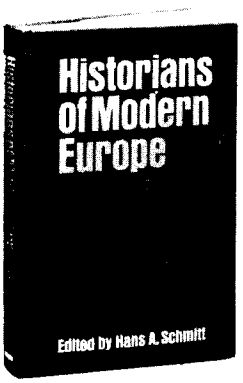
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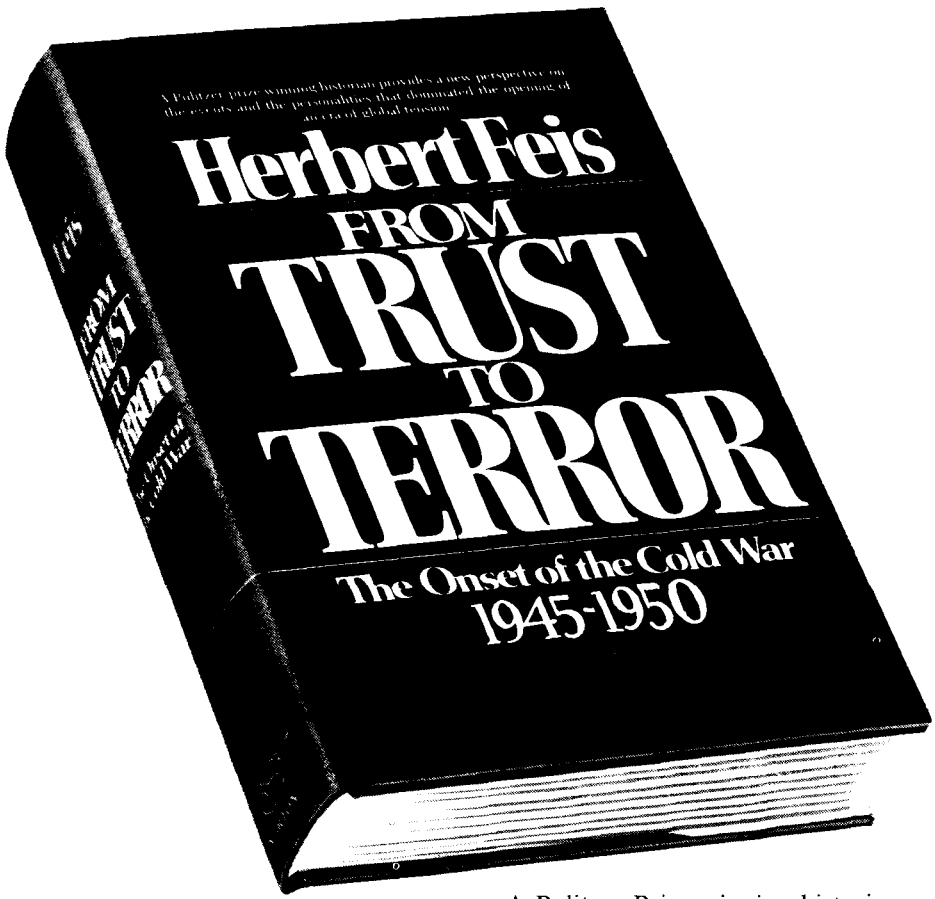
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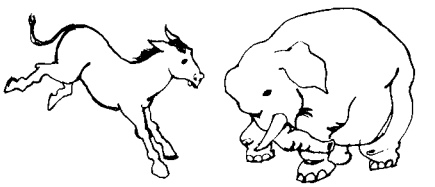
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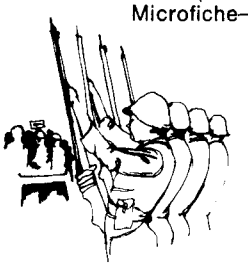
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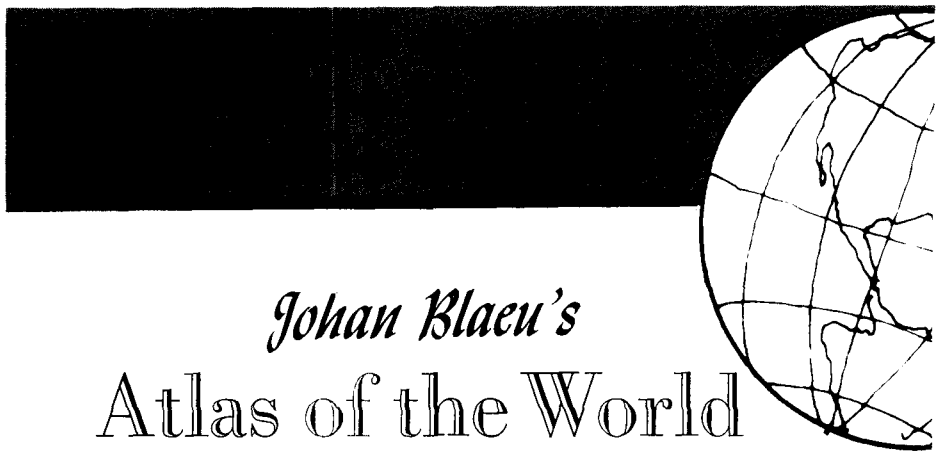
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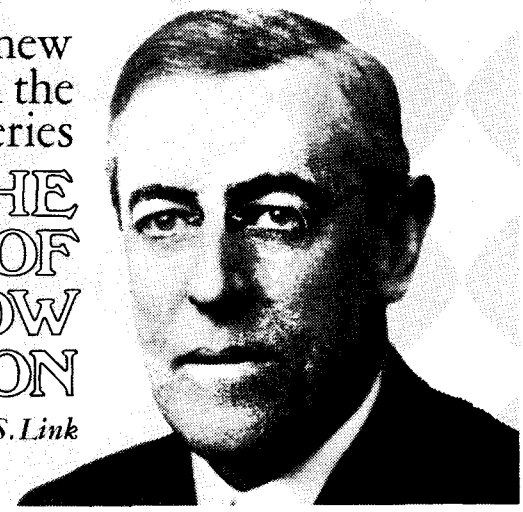
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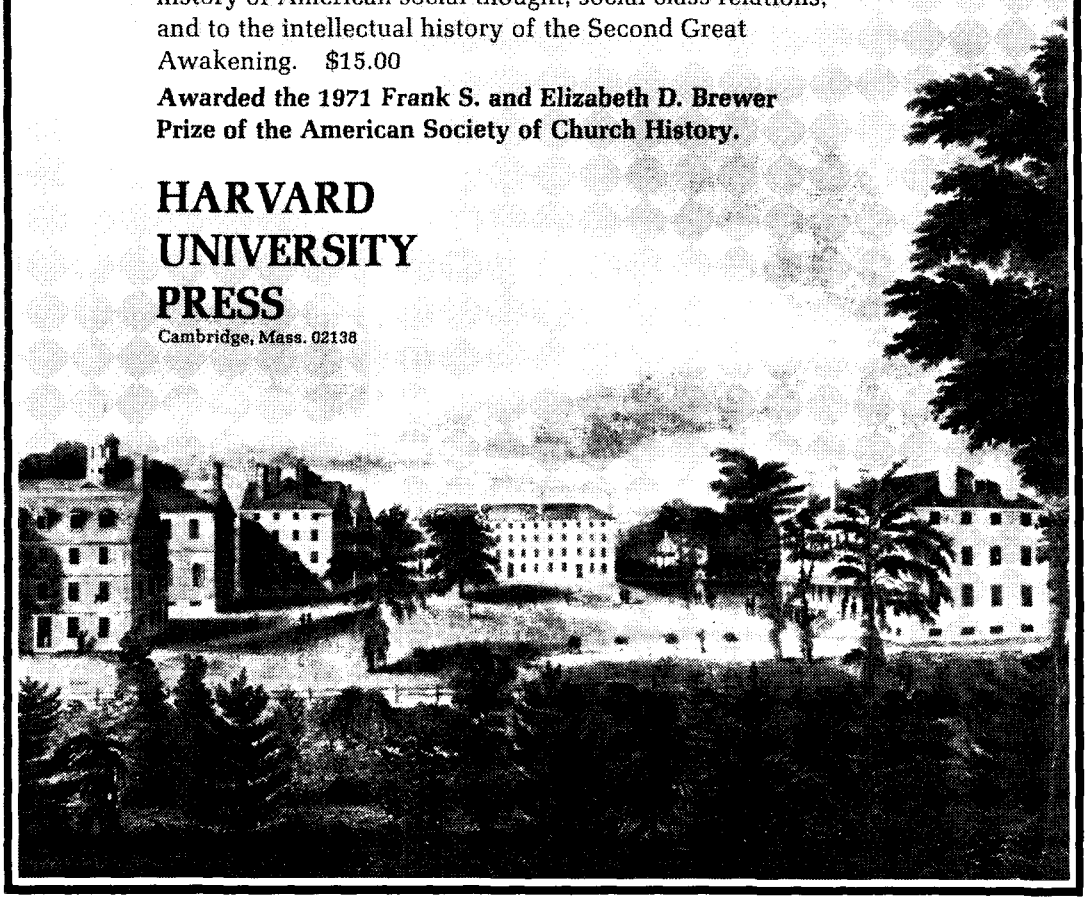
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